

RIGHT ON! 25¢

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BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

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The BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MAY

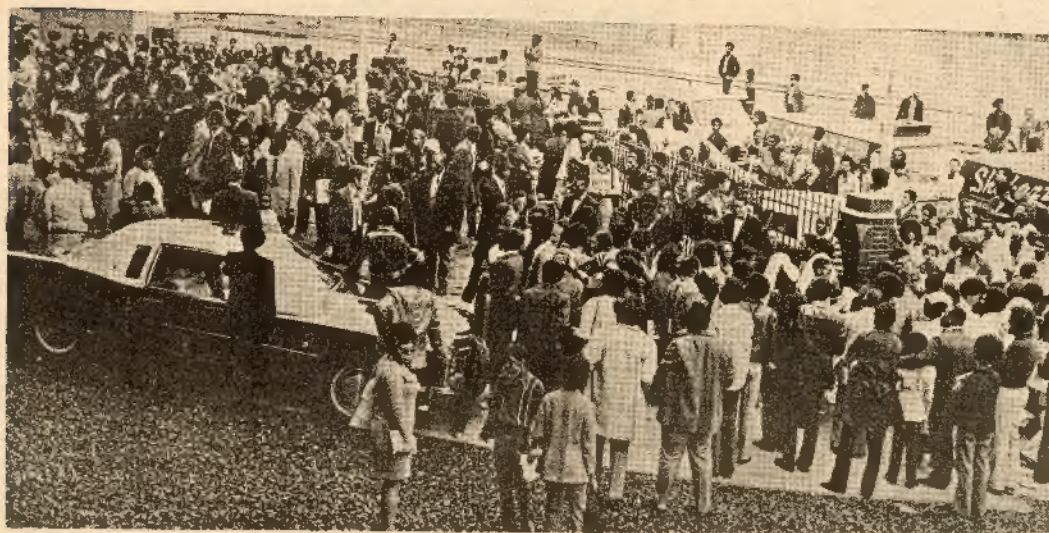
31
1972

Malcolm X



Nation of Islam Rally

April 30, 1972



"Some of our own Black brothers (cops) are like wild cats let out of the bag when they come into our community. But we say Black brother, though we are asking and demanding, and will get control of the police in our community, that kind of brother who will mistreat his own Black brother is either going to STRAIGHTEN UP or STRAIGHTEN OUT!"

The above warning (message) comes from Minister Louis Farrakhan, Minister of Muhammad's Temple No. 7. The importance of what is being said can be broken down in the following two ways:

- (1) As Black people steadily move towards developing the necessary power to determine the destiny of their community, the demand for community control of police should come as a surprise to no one! For it is very key that those who take on the duties, responsibilities, and POWER of a police force, should in turn, owe their allegiance, respect, and protection to the community which they patrol (control)! White policemen in Nassau and Suffolk counties in Long Island and upstate, live, work, and play in the communities which they are overseers of. So they have no qualms about answering to the community, for these are their wives, relatives, and friends. So it must be the same for all of the Harlems, Brownsvilles, Bedford-Stuyvesants, Roxburys, and Watts across Amerikkka!
- (2) At the same time, we must look objectively at the level of political awareness Black people have reached in the liberation struggle. We will then understand why "community control of police" can in no way become a reality in the near future. So we therefore must deal with the more feasible alternative of either "straightening up" or "straightening out" our Black "police". For merely placing nigger pigs in our communities who have the mentality of and identify with their white counterparts (white pigs) is helping no one but pig Murphy and his boys. For they sit back and smile watching naive brothers and sisters "confide" in the "brother cop" only to be ripped off and thrown in the slam because of this same "brother".

So we should read carefully and keep in mind the following message on "Black Cops" which was given to the people at the Nation of Islam Rally, April 30, 1972, from the Black Panther Party. For the question of an all Black "police" team for the Black communities is a very delicate one. But if we can use the enthusiasm shown and applauds for the Sister Bernice Jones as she gave the Panther position on this issue as a guide to how the people related to what she was saying, then we know the people will not be duped!

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RIGHT ON! BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
published bi-weekly by the
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Text of: Black Panther Party Speech at Nation of Islam Rally April 30, 1972

The history of Black People is a history of oppression, therefore they have adapted to it. Sort of like a routine. When that routine is broken whether for the good or the bad, that is a crisis. Because we, as a people, do not come together unless there is a crisis, we are a crisis oriented people. Today we meet again, to deal with another crisis. Let us not deal with it from an emotional or crisis oriented state of mind, let us reason it out in a logical fashion.

The facts are:

- (1) On Friday, April 14th, 1972 Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 was attacked by the New York City Police Department.
- (2) Four members of the Nation were arrested and charged.
- (3) One member of the New York Police Department died.
- (4) somebody's gonna pay.

The next question is, what are we to do?

The Nation of Islam has issued four demands to New York City. The first demand is:

An apology from Police Commissioner Murphy and Mayor Lindsay for the attack.

There's nothing wrong with this demand because someone has to take the with and chalking it up to a tragic mistake only leaves it in limbo. What is Murphy trying to say when he calls it a tragic mistake? Does he mean that if it had not been a false alarm that New York's Finest would have been justified in shooting up the Mosque or is he stalling for time? In view of these possibilities, we support the Nation of Islam in their demand for an apology from Police Commissioner Murphy and Mayor Lindsay.

The second demand is that charges be dropped against the Muslim brothers.

We can't do anything but support this demand in view of the fact that the oppressor has a history of being artful about making the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim. This is clear cut example of that. Therefore we support the brothers of the Nation of Islam in their demand that all charges be dropped against our innocent brothers.

The third demand is that all white policemen be taken out of our area.

As the Black Panther Party whose primary objective is to establish revolutionary political power for Black People, how can we not support a demand that all white policemen be removed from our communities? But we hope that our people will not seriously believe that all our troubles will be over then. History has shown us that when a colonized people of one race has moved to remove the oppressor conceded and removed themselves only to colonize from a distance through members of the oppressed communities.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad has talked many times about the deviousness, craftiness and tricknology of our opponent. Let us not be fooled by him in black face, for the oppressor is beginning to find it easier to rule through neo-colonialism. Some good examples of that is the world today are Jordan's King Hussein, Mobutu from Congo Zaire, Haile Selassie from Ethiopia, and DuValier from Haiti.



Bernice Jones

The fourth demand is to replace the white police with black police under black commanders.

Let us look at the role of Black people in America for a while.

- (1) They were brought over to work as field slaves for the most part.



Min. Farrakhan

- (2) It was soon found that some of them could be domesticated, that is, trained for the house. So they became house slaves.

- (3) It was found that some of them made good overseers - that is they made sure all the slaves stayed in their place, didn't destroy anything of the master's, didn't take anything away from the master, didn't conspire to run off or rebel from the master, and they always said yes suh and no ma'am.

During the many slave rebellions that went down, it was not the white man that rattled the leaders out. It couldn't have been, because they were never allowed into the secret meetings. The only way they could have found out is from the Kneegrow informers. The death of Nat Turner was caused by a Kneegrow informant. The history of black organizations and groups has been the history of infiltration by Kneegrow informants. Some present day examples are Gene Roberts, Ralph White AKA Yedwah Sudan, Carlox Ashwood, Lester Ingerson, Ray Woods, etc., etc., etc....

Let us look at the other side of the story. Let us say that the demand for all Black policemen is met. Let us reason it out together.

One of the most demanding jobs, today is that of the Black policeman. Society does not excuse the Black Officer from the role it gives police in general in the Black community - which is to oversee for the white power structure. The power structure will back up any violence that's necessary to back up this role. The Black police officer is trained in a white system with little real input from the Black experience. The system is interested in the Black man who can be oriented white and trained to serve white interests. These Black policemen receive recognition, rewards, promotions, and are accountable to white superiors serving primarily a white society.

The Black policeman is not really - unless he chooses to be - accountable to the Black community in which he may be operating. He is encouraged to think of self as a cop "who just happens to be Black."

"Being a cop like any other really means for the Black cop becoming a white cop, i.e. a white vision, perspective, ideals priorities, behavior patterns in the Black community, and a willingness to serve the white power structure without examining what that service means." There were Black police attacking the Muslim Mosque.

If the Black Policemen does decide that his first loyalty is to the community, what happens then? Here's a true case in point:

Jim Nance, had been on the police force in Newark for 11 years. He'd received a lot of decorations, medals, etc., and his name is on the walls all over City Hall. Four years ago he was wounded in the line of duty. Nance made a decision that he was a Black man first and a police second. Last Wednesday he took his case before the City Council because he was being forced into retirement because he decided to work in conjunction with his people to relate to the needs of his people, Jim Nance, because he was Black first and a cop second is being victimized.

We therefore back the Nation of Islam in their just demands - and will do whatever possible as an organization to aid the Nation of Islam in obtaining these just demands, but we ask the brothers and sisters of our Black communities, the brothers and sisters here, and the Nation of Islam to make certain that the demand for Black police and commanders be dealt with on the premise that these black police and black commanders must be accountable to us - to the Black community before they answer to any others outside. We do not need to move from colonialism to neo-colonialism.

Thank you

All Power to the People!

TRIAL NEWS

The "Tombs 7"

Nathaniel Ragsdale, Curtis Brown and Ricardo deLeon.
Judge Birns, Asst. d.a. Fine
Manhattan Supreme Court
100 Center St.
Part 42: 11th Fl.
Monday-Thursday 10:00-4:00

The trial should start on Monday 5/22, they have completed the jury picking.

These brothers need your support to prevent them from being railroaded. They have successfully separated them, now the railroad flag is up. Support these brothers keep the courtroom packed to capacity. Only with the aid of the people can we ever to see any justice done.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Franklin Meyers one of the Tombs Brothers 7.

The brother goes back to court on the 23rd and 25th of May, Part 35. He has a bail of \$33,500.00, this is all that stands between him and the streets. Lets see what we can do for our brave warrior.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Anthony "Ainu" White

125 White St.

This returns to court on the 9th. of June. Bail/ransom has been set for him, it is \$250,00.00. now can he or any other brother expect to see justice done.
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Ignae "Ine" Gittens is out in mini once again. All power to her.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Nareem Hakima Omar Manafudi and Bro. Chuma Imari Fela Askadi of the Republic of New Africa have requested food. Any dry food can be sent. It can be sent to the lawyer John Brittain 2333W. Ferry St. Jackson, Miss. 39201

The brothers would also like to hear from you comrades in mini, they are at Hinds County Jail, Jackson, Miss.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Hakima Anaof the Republic has been found guilty by a jury of 11 whites and 1 black. The trial lasted 4 days, the jury deliberated for 1 hour before coming back with a guilty verdict. He has been sentenced to life.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

The Queens 5

Richard "Dharuba" Moore, Michael D. Hill, Eddy "Janal" Josephs, Irvin "Butch" Mason.
Queens Supreme Court
Queens Blvd.

They are in the process of picking a jury, this should be completed in another week or two. One of the five have already been tried, the other four need the support of the people.

They go to court Monday-Thursday 10:00-5:00

Support these brothers.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Jerome Reid and Johnny Sellers are being held in Nassau County Jail by the Feds.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

H. Rap Brown will be extradited to New Orleans within a few days. His appeal of 1968 has been denied. Because he is unable to travel the judge from New Orleans came to New York to resentence him to a federal concentration camp.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

WRITE TO POLITICAL PRISONERS

James Harris #46785
P.O. Box 1
Yardville, N.J.

Mark Holder
653 River Avenue
Bronx, New York 10451

Richard D. Moore
126-02 82nd Avenue
Kew Gardens, N.Y.

Eddie Jamal Josephs
126-02 82nd Avenue
Kew Gardens, N.Y.

Michael D. Hill
126-02 82nd Avenue
Kew Gardens, N.Y.

Irving Butch Mason
126-02 82nd Avenue
Kew Gardens, New York

Henry "Shasha" Brown
124 S. 14th St.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

Benjamin Simmons
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

Gary "G" Gaynor
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

George T. Alexander
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

John Herbert Jones
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

Darryl Blakemore
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

Umaja Enaharo
Jefferson County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

Thomas McCreary
124 S. 14th St.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

Jacqueline Howard
County Jail
Louisville, Kentucky

William Owens
427 West St.
New York, New York

Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt
Los Angeles County Jail
Los Angeles, California

Leo Woodberry
1414 Hazen St.
East Elmhurst, New York

Tyrone Simmons
1414 Hazen St.
East Elmhurst, New York

Clinton Moody
427 West St.
New York, New York

Donald "Kwesi" Weems
Drawer N
Trenton, New Jersey

Anthony "Ainu" White 4th floor
125 White St.
New York, New York

Robert Brown
835 Morgan St.
Raleigh, North Carolina

Daniel Johnson
835 Morgan St.
Raleigh, North Carolina

John L. Thomas
427 West St.
New York, New York

Hassan Howard
427 West St.
New York, New York

Fred "Sol" Fernandez
427 West St.
New York, New York

Ila Mason
1515 Hazen St.
East Elmhurst, New York

The Words of: Frankie Meyers

Your decision of March 1, 1972 is considered by me and all affected to be the epitomy of the workings of the judicial system of Amerikkka whereby you misuse the authority vested in you and justice becomes a cloak under which you exercise your perversions as you sidetrack what is right and just for what is wrong but expedient! After all why else would you have granted a motion for severance without observing all the proper procedure for filing of said motion...the notification of those so mentioned within said motion...granting those so mentioned within said motion a copy of such as well as a reasonable amount of time to contest said motion...before rendering a decision...which more than likely wouldn't have been a just one but one similar to that one that you did render which was to the specification of your cohort assistant district attorney Finell!

Within that decision you cite one of the defendants(myself) conduct as unbecoming and thereby attempt to justify your decision that defendants in indictment 280/71 should stand five separate trials. Where was your justification when you kept or allowed to be kept--the case of defendants in a part over which you presided for the last six or so months? Where was your justification when you treated the defendants of indictment no. 280/71 like they were severed by only allowing them into the courtroom one at a time, if at all, over the last six or so months? Where was your justification for not allowing my co-defendant and brother--Herbert X. Blyden--to defend himself at any stage of the proceedings as is supposedly his right? Where is your justification for having marked us ready and pass for a joint trial on December 14, 1971 but then signaling out

the defendant Franklin Myers for a single trial later and without notice?

I mean where was your justification in the few times mentioned of the many times that the defendants' rights were abused? Everything that you have done thus far has been arbitrary, prejudicial, unconstitutional, unprincipled and distinctly spells out partiality, judicial misconduct and conduct contrary to the decorum of this court and the office that you hold!!

It is apparent that you aren't trying us for the charges for which we are accused but to further the cause of which you are a proponent of; Genocide...Genocide...Genocide of a whole race and class of oppressed people!! Because we have lost and are losing our economic value which you and your kind have exploited for some four-hundred-seventeen years (417)! Because you fear that through us that the peoples' consciousness will be awakened to your intentions--as well as your deeds--which are the real crimes and the only crimes because you commit them against the people!!

Sincerely Venceremos,

Franklin Myers (279/71-280/71) of the Tombs Brothers 7

- On The "Tombs Brothers 7" -

Put together:

The department of correction that doesn't correct

The district attorneys who don't respect

Judges who don't defendants rights protect,

And all you've got is a lynching With the law twisted into a rope

And 417 years of injustice continued Under the guise of legality

But the Tombs Brothers 7 won't compromise

We demand that the plane be placed where it belongs

We stand "7" strong to be free.

by: Franklin Meyers

-Tombs Brothers 7-

Mark Holder, one of the 5 Panther brothers that were on trial for the murder of Samuel Napier, was tried separately from the other 4. Mark, who is 17, was convicted at about 1:00 in the morning. Frank Meyers was Mark's next door cell-mate and he wrote this poem as our Comrade Mark Holder came back from being convicted at 1:30 in the morning.....

Bro. Mark, just came in....

I
slack
And poor
Cry Tears
For every one of our lives of death
Whatever form that lynching'
For I know it originates
With social disorder
brought on by
A condition of this economy
That never would allow us to be
And live like human beings

Yet animals don't even compete
nor do animals ~~none~~
So what manner of low life form
be this
That profiteers off of our every ounce and pound
Of the peoples strength
And yet gives back nothing
but poverty
Slurs
Drug addiction
And the most miserable type of affliction
That the earth has ever saw

All of our misery
Is born out of poverty
And miseducation
Forcing us to exist in this degradation
Incorrectly called life
by sucking the lifes blood
Of one another
While they suck the life
From us all
And I seek revenge
For every night and day
That mankind has not been allowed to live
together.....

by: Franklin Meyers
"Tombs Brothers Seven"

Spring is in the air....

Spring Rap Brown!
Spring Ruchell Magee!
Spring Angela!
Spring all political prisoners!



Defense of our Homes!

ANDERSON AVENUE TENANTS LEAGUE
1197, 1195 & 1187 Anderson Avenue
Bronx, New York 10452

PRESS RELEASE APRIL 19, 1972

April 7, 1972, the 44th precinct again vamped on the Brothers and Sisters at 1197 Anderson Ave., Bronx, New York. Only this time, they came fully armed with machine guns, shields, helmets, bullet proof vests, handguns and sawed-off shotguns.

Six persons were arrested. They are James Rugg, Oliver Strother, Luis Biosaera, Francis Green, Jean Williams and Mae Van Eaton (Sis. Mae) all tenants of the the three building complex at 1197, 1195 and 1187 Anderson Ave., Bronx, New York.

The 44th Precinct came under the pretense of an eviction notice from the SLUMLORD, (East New York Savings Bank of Brooklyn represented by Bernard Levine). It is just another means the ENEMY uses to get what he calls the leaders or the troublemakers out of the way.

The two Sisters, Mae Van Eaton and Jean Williams' furniture was removed from their apartments and placed in storage by the SLUMLORD at V. Santini Co., 2314 Jerome Ave., Bronx, N.Y. Jean's door was knocked down and tear gas was shot into the apartment while Jean and 1 1/2 year old child was still in side the apartment. Six to eight shots were fired from the street into Sister Mae's apartment win dow while she and her 12 year old child was inside the apartment. (See Daily News, April 8, 1972, Page 4 and the centerfold).

100 policemen, the bomb squad, the emergency squad and the fire department were on the scene to a vict two (2) Sisters and their children. One was thought to be throwing bottles.

Without warning the attack came, everybody was deputized, including the SLUMLORD and his lawyer. The SLUMLORD (East New York Savins Bank Brooklyn represented by Bernard Levine) and his lawyer was carrying sticks, guns, and wearing police shields and helmets. After the arrests and the removal of the Sisters furniture neither apartment door was secured. They were left open to anyone who needed an apartment. We know this is not the procedure the SLUMLORD uses to evict people.

The Sisters never received an eviction notice. The marshall Lester Casper of 305 Broadway, New York City never came upstairs where the so-called evictions were taking place. He remained downstairs in the court yard. The Sisters live on the third floor of 1197. When Sister Mae answered her door the policemen were standing with their guns pointed at her door. When she open the door she was arrested on the spot. When she questioned her arrest, she was told she would find out at the precinct. The four Brothers who heard the shots fired ran up to see if the Sister and her was hurt was also arrested.

There is no end to the 44th precinct and their madness. On July 13, 1971, approximately 10 to 20 all white policemen beat three tenants on the roof of 1197. They are Thomas McDonald, Francis Green and Mae Van Eaton. Brother Francis and Sister Mae were arrested on Friday April 7, 1972. All the policemen were from the 44th precinct. One policeman Peter Lucek shield no. 25216 threaten to throw the Brothers and the Sister off the roof. The Sister was hit on the head several times and repeatedly kicked in the back. She was searched on the roof by the policemen. The buildings are maintained by the TENANTS. After endless pleas to the SLUMLORD about making

the tenants were on RENT STRIKE and making repairs. Along comes East New York Saving Bank of Brooklyn represented by Bernard Levine, who says they have the mortgage because they foreclosed on Anderson Equities, 30 Vesey St., New York City represented by Ru bin Pikus and Morty Pinkwasser, who abandoned the buildings forcing the tenants to make repairs.

Bronx Landlord and Tenant Court, 851 Grand Concourse, Bronx, New York has proven to be a SLUMLORD COURT ONLY.

Morrisania Legal Services, 1438 Boston Road, Bronx, New York sold the tenants out to the SLUMLORD by agreeing to allow cases already dismissed by the Judge to be placed back on the court calendar without notification first to the tenants. We need your help in solving this matter, we feel that there should be an end to slum housing.

We feel, what we have done is right and just for our people and especially our children.

On Monday, April 24, 1972, a hearing will be held at 851 Grand Concourse, 8th floor before the Grand Jury.

WE WANT YOU THE PEOPLE TO BE JUDGE AND NOT THE 44th PRECINCT NOR EAST NEW YORK SAVING BANK WHO SUP PORTS SLUM HOUSING AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

ANDERSON AVE. TENANTS LEAGUE

REMEMBER SAN RAFAEL!
To the heroes of San Rafael

It was August 7, 1970 On that day Black revolutionary history Was made and recorded As four Black brothers Burst loose from prisondom to freedom

From the insecurities of minimum And maximum dungeons To the liberty or death halls of freedom

Remember San Rafael! It was August 7, 1970

When a jackass juror, a persecuting Prosecutor and a criminal judge Were captured in their criminal court Of injustice

"We are revolutionaries", they said
"We want the Soledad Brothers free by 12:30"

And fifty United States of righteous And revolutionary hearts rejoiced As they saw pictures of the criminal judge In his fascist black robe Shivering and shaking in the righteous Black Hands of the revolutionaries

Remember San Rafael!
Remember the frightened face of the Master judge of injustice Shortly before it was blasted into oblivion Too late for grace "He done lost his face"
Remember the clatter of Eight feet under four men As they moved so manly towards Their liberation There were no slogans, no shouting, no bullshitting Only the examples of the brilliant brains Of brave men Now take a piece of paper Write these words on your minds and hearts

SELF SACRIFICE

Their sacrifice must not be forgotten Remember San Rafael!
Remember the cadre made before your Very eyes Remember the comrades with eight charging feet Towards freedom Remember the six feet that made it to freedom Remember the names



repairs, the tenants formed a Ten ants League known as the Anderson Avenue Tenants League, 1197, 1195 & 1187 Anderson Ave., Bronx, New York and on July 1, 1970 they went on a RENT STRIKE. After long negotiations about repairs, buying and co-operatives, the tenants found out that the SLUMLORD had no intentions of making any repairs. They installed a new boiler, new entrance doors (front & back) installed three new roofs, repaired elevators, renovated two (2) apartments and had major plumbing work done.

All of New York City Housing Officials, Tony Glideman, New York City Housing & Maintenance 100 Gold St, New York plus the Mayor knows that

James McClain
Jonathan Jackson
William Christmas
Ruchell Magee

Remember San Rafael!

Habib Tiwoni April 2, 1971 NYC

On the Legal Lynching of the Panther 5

It seems that the stage has already been set for the remaining four brothers in the so-called Panther murder conspiracy case with the legal lynching of Comrade Mark Holder, who was the first one brought trial. So that the chances of Dhuraba, Jamel, Butch and Michael D. are indeed very slim for them receiving a fair trial and returned to the people, to continue in our struggle for freedom.

First of all it shouldn't come as a surprise to any of us that the brother (Mark) was found guilty on a stack of lies by pigs, and the "shaky" testimony of a pig-informer schizophrenic working out of self-interest in conjunction with the pigs for obvious reasons.

Also the fact the jury was composed of eleven white jurors who weren't concerned with justice, but dealt with him on the bases of being black and a revolutionary interested in freeing black people from our 400 years of racist oppression. And in terms of the court (judge) and district attorney, I don't think we even have to comment on their role in the over-all scheme of things.

It should be further pointed out that Queens is largely made up of white businessmen and working class right wing elements, who have no understanding and concern for black people in general. Some of your most reactionary racist groups and organizations (White Citizens' Council, Minutemen, Hardhat, etc.) were originated in Queens, most of Wallace's support in 1968 came from Queens County out of New York City. And these same reactionary elements were allowed to manifest themselves in the 4½ week circus that took place in fascist hatchet-man Dubin's Courtroom.

To continue to speak on the so ever growing fascism, and the already overwhelming rampant racism in the courts, would only be repeating about the 400 year old struggle of the Afro-American people's fight for justice as a whole in fascist amerikkka.

Let it be sufficed that there never has, and never will be justice for black and oppressed people under the present amerikkkan system of justice as it stands today.

In terms of the few decisions handed down, dismissing charges against various black people e.g., Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggens, the New York 21 and Soledad brothers. We shouldn't be fooled by these so-called acts of justice on part of the pigs, because these people weren't guilty anyway. And we find the Soledad brothers are still P.O.W.'s, and Comrade George Jackson was murdered, so the pigs accomplished their basic aims.

This trial of Mark Holder, and the recent trial of Cornelius Butler and Lawrence Hayes (two 19 year old black youths sentenced to death in the killing of a pig in Queens) only goes to re-affirm in our minds what we already know about justice in this country for our people. These types of moves (imposing death penalty and harsh prison terms) are designed to silence revolutionaries in particular and black people in general from speaking and acting against the present capitalistic slave system that has been built on the blood, sweat and tears of our people.

For black people to set back and wait for any kind of redress from these foul oppressive pigs, would be like ostriches sticking our heads in a hole in the ground, blocking out the reality of our conditions. We have no other recourse but to make our disapproval of this type of bullshit felt in the "streets." One must also ask himself (even if this were the case) since when have white folks ever been concerned over black people killing black people?... that trial was nothing but a very poor joke on the part of the pigs.

The signs are very clear in the minds of many Afro-American people now about what is jumping off in amerikkka.

The only justice that the remaining four brothers are going to receive will be at the hands of the people, not the courts. In fact every black and woman confined and incarcerated in amerikkka's prisons and jail can correctly be classified as prisoners of war, and be subjected to more Attica's San Quentin's and Vacavilles where Nazism and rabid racism runs rampant and unchecked. And until such time as the people and the people's army make such conditions for their release, then these brothers and sisters will remain P.O.W.

There should be no doubt in any of our minds as to what must be done to free all our captive comrades, as Comrade Eldridge Cleaver pointed out in his "Message to the Lumper - we don't have to be as fat as the pigs to kick their fat asses, all we have to do is take action, and it will speak for itself."

We must draw a line of demarcation somewhere, I submit that we draw it here at the fold of this trial...in fact fuck having anymore trials, for now on we will hold court out in the "streets" on our terms not the terms of our oppressors. And to pig Judge Dubin and his little punk friend D.A. Nicolosi, you've had your day in court, son now we the people will have ours. The time for negotiation and compromises have ended, we all know what future amerikkka has in store for black people. So now let us begin to sharpen our weapons, open our books on war, and prepare for BATTLE...

In the spirit of Jonathan Jackson "Free the Panther 5" and all prisoners of War by any means necessary:

"Death to all our oppressors!"

Comrade Nicky

P.O.W. of U.S. Fascism

ROBERT 35X: On Drugs

In this day and time we ask ourselves why are so many young brothers and sisters hooked on dope, scag, LSD, coke, or pot; and the answer changes according to who answers the question. First let me say, if you are a dope addict you are a chump and if you are a dope dealer you are a traitor to the Black race. Why do I say this?...

The brother or sister who becomes hooked on stuff becomes a drop out as far as the Black revolution or new awareness is concerned. They become enemies of society (Black society) and enemies of themselves. Who do they rob? Each other, us. Who do they kill and play stuff on? Each other, us. Who do they hold back and keep down as a race? Each other, us.

The sister who is a dope-addict becomes a dog, a human garbage can, a cesspool of filth for anybody and everybody. She usually becomes a prostitute and will sell her soul for a bag of dope or the price for one. It doesn't make any difference to her if the trick is Black or white, dirty or clean, young or old. So you know she doesn't care if he is a racist, a bigot, or a segregationist. He may be a cop who locks up or kills innocent young Blacks, he may be a slumlord who charges high rent for low down houses or a merchant who overcharges us in his stores, but as long as he has the price who will sell her body. But it's not her fault, she used to be a queen but she lost her king; she used to be a princess but she lost her prince; she used to be a woman but has no "man" to protect her, respect her, restrain or provide for her. Her name used to be Nilaja, Fatima, Ayo, Folami, Shesha, Bolade, Olubunmi and we renamed her bitch. The enemy said she was free so we said she was free, and she became free, free to go to bed with or marry whomever she pleases.

Now the brother who gets strung out becomes something else again. He is the dumbest chump in the world! He thinks he is the slickest. Most of the time he feels bad, especially when he needs some stuff. Most of the time he looks bad because he can't or won't keep up his appearance, all all of the time he smells bad because the hot bath or shower may blow his high and get some of the funk off, and that wouldn't be too cool! He will steal from his family and himself so you know he will steal from the brothers and sisters. He would put his mother on the corner to trick if he could so you know what he will do with his wife or woman; anything for that smack, tragic magic or scag. For some dope he will rat on the dealer, betray the nation, lose all principles and morals if he has any left. Most young Blacks are exposed to dope because the oppressor sends it into all the ghettos across the country to put us asleep because the oppressor knows when you control a man's mind, it's not necessary to worry about his locomotion, but when you can't control a man's mind you must worry about his body.

Now, we come to the dealer and I'm not talking about the hooked brother who sells stuff to support his jones, but the silk-suit type, the caddy type, the long money brother or should I say nigger; he is the traitor who helps to enslave his brothers and sisters by supplying them with the dope that he gets from his boss or master. Out of ignorance and greed he allows himself to be the spreader of the disease that is affecting our children "dope". Usually he doesn't go to jail because the beast wants him out there so he can do his job of slowly killing us with that poison. The diplomat brings it into the country in his attache case and diplomatic immunity. The CIA is flying it in from Laos in the D-C-6 to be distributed in the ghettos. It's not the first time in



history a people was put to sleep with drugs, remember China? This same government that can limit diamond and gold smuggling could curb drugs. This same government that could find James Earl Ray, sister Angela and even myself, can surely find the dope dealers. I know many will reject the idea that the government is responsible for the dope but none the less how else could it continue to function? Why? Why do we become dope addicts or sellers? One reason is we don't love ourselves, we don't respect or protect ourselves, all because we don't know ourselves. Does the Negro come from Negro or speak Negro? No! There is no such language, no such land and surely no such man as a Negro. We are Africans, black men and women whose fore-parents come from the continent of Africa. Once we learn who we are, with this new pride and black awareness we won't use dope because we will realize "dope is for chumps" not for oppressed people.

Yours in the struggle

Robert 35X

P.R.W.M.
P.O. BOX 8487
BOSTON, MASS. 02114

NAACP and WILKINS SUPPORT APARTHEID

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement would like to call attention to the many groups of careerists and opportunists who have found financial haven in their so-called support of African Liberation. These groups have established themselves as experts and for self-profit; they distort and confuse the nature of the struggle in South Africa - which is for freedom, land, and self-determination, not for jobs and "equal opportunity." These professional parasites and their 'business' ventures must be challenged and questioned, for they serve the purposes of the U.S. corporate community and the aims of the South African Secret Police, BOSS, and the CIA.

The trip to South Africa by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP must be condemned as an act of support of the Apartheid Reich and as total disregard for the struggle and the principles of the Liberation Movements engaged in armed warfare. The Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans of South Africa (ASSECA) which was the sponsor of the Wilkins' mission was given \$15,000 by the Polaroid Corp. in 1971 under the Polaroid Experiment. One does not have to wonder why Roy Wilkins who has been silent this past year on American support and involvement in South Africa, has suddenly become vocal in South Africa in his support for corporate America and their exploitation of the African people. Roy Wilkins, of the NAACP, is a tool of the government and an enemy of all African people; he has been chosen to attempt to offset the actions of solidarity and support by the African people in the U.S. for their brothers in Southern Africa. The P.R.W.M. condemns Roy Wilkins and the NAACP and urge Black people to ostracize and expose both Wilkins and the NAACP as saboteurs of African Liberation.

info: (617) 491-4465

POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT Box 8487 Boston, Mass. 02114 March 13, 1972

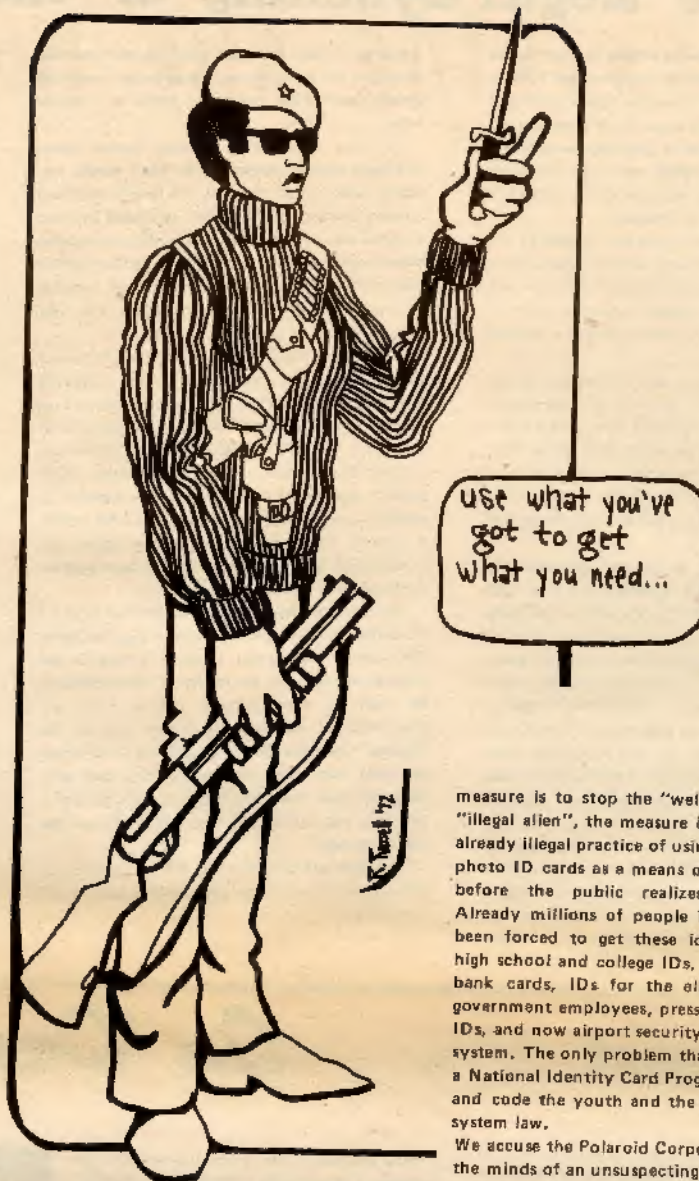
Two recent actions with respect to the continuing effort by P.R.W.M. to bring pressure against Polaroid Corporation of Cambridge need to be publicized.

The first concern: The fact that the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, one of the most stable and well-run agencies in Boston, recently returned a "gift" of \$10,000 to the Polaroid Corporation. In a covering letter, Percy Wilson, the Director of the Center condemned Polaroid for its, "involvement in the oppression of black people in South Africa," and "urged them to withdraw from south Africa and by so doing demonstrate their concern about black people." This action on the part of yet another Black agency follows on the 1971 decision by the Boston Black United Front to turn over the 20,000 dollar Polaroid "gift" to Cairo, Illinois and to the liberation movements in South Africa. We wish to commend the Staff and Board of the Center for this action while also placing on record our disappointment that the Board decided to place a ban on public statements on the issue. We of the P.R.W.M. strongly feel that such actions need to be widely publicized as they serve not only to inform and politicize the community but also expose Polaroid's attempts at playing the domestic humanitarian and philanthropic game as a smokescreen to hide its ugly, vicious imperialist aims.

The second concern is that we would like to expose the fact that Senator Edward W. Brooke (Rep., Mass.) has wholeheartedly embraced the concept of the Polaroid Experiment in South Africa. The experiment as we have stated before, is only a diversion to keep people's attention away from the fact that Polaroid still sells its instant identification to the South African Government. (POLAROID IS THE ONLY PRODUCER OF THE SYSTEMS AND FILM.)

Therefore we say that Senator Brooke is being used as an instrument by the Corporation to make the Polaroid Experiment acceptable to the public, by stating in a letter to Polaroid: "I am truly impressed with your efforts and believe it represents the vanguard or constructive American influence on the South American racial situation." Thus Senator Brooke proves his allegiance to the Corporation and not to the people of South Africa. Has he not done the same here?

Last week's move by the U.S. Senate Finance Committee to require that all U.S. citizens be fingerprinted and given Social Security ID cards on one of three occasions - entering school at age 6, immigrating to the U.S., or when applying for welfare. Although the so-called purpose of this



measure is to stop the "welfare cheater" and the "illegal alien", the measure is planned to make an already illegal practice of using Social Security and photo ID cards as a means of identification legal before the public realizes what's happening. Already millions of people in this country have been forced to get these identity documents as high school and college IDs, work IDs, credit and bank cards, IDs for the elderly and the blind, government employees, press IDs, police and taxi IDs, and now airport security, etc.... This is a pass system. The only problem that remains in securing a National Identity Card Program is to photograph and code the youth and the babies and make the system law.

We accuse the Polaroid Corporation of cauterizing the minds of an unsuspecting public with the same means applied by the Nazis - "the Big Lie". The fact of the matter is that the conditions of unemployment, welfare, deterioration of the educational system, wage freeze, the value added tax, etc., are part of a Master Plan worked out in secret meetings between this government and its multinational corporations for the purpose of world control.

National identity Programs have been used as a means of control by fascist governments and by the CIA under AID Programs to Third World countries. It is not coincidental that all these systems use Polaroid's instant cameras and film as the means of photo-identification and the IBM Computer System for instant recall of data. It relates to the fact that this method has been tested and perfected successfully in South Africa and in South Vietnam. The official imposition of that system here should be vigorously opposed here. History proves that National Identity Systems always involves a denial and loss of basic human and political rights.

We are here today to announce a National Campaign against the National Identity Program. We intend to inform the American public - who will be the victims of this sinister plan - and to organize for opposition, action, and the abolishment of the Nazi-like means of control that is being forced on the people.

**BOYCOTT POLAROID! RESIST POLAROID
IDS - NOW, before it is too late!**

For Further info - 491-4465,

Surviving the Hospital



Part II

One of the most intimidating aspects of life in a hospital is the doctors' rounds. Our ward was crowded; twenty or thirty patients plus visitors and nurses—simply huge numbers of people. Amidst all that bedlam, there would come six to twenty doctors in troops. Interns would cluster a round the great ones who already had it made like boy scouts around the master. They would descend on one patient after another surrounding her bed, usually with curtains closed tightly about; sadly and almost inevitably, the patient became intimidated into subdued passivity. Far from being concerned about harming patients, the doctors are very pleased with themselves. Passivity is good in a patient in a MD's eyes for that is co-operation.

The doctors go still further, they increase the level of their intimidation by refusing to talk to a patient as if she were in possession of even minimum human intelligence. They avoid saying anything meaningful in understandable language and assume that people are mentally unable to understand anything about their own bodies and are certainly unworthy of taking part in decisions about getting well.

"Doctor, I haven't been allowed to eat in three weeks and I've lost fifteen pounds already, why can't I have some food", I asked one day. "You can't because you're a very sick little girl," I was told.

One of my first acts of fighting back was to demand to speak with some one doctor who considered himself to be in charge of my case and from whom I could legitimately expect to get some straight information. Incredible as it seems, this small and formally very proper request was greeted with hostility. I was being unco-operative again. It took several days to gain my point; they didn't let it go any further, either. I began to see that the most reasonable things are often felt to be the most dangerous to approved medical practices.

Another way in which patients are kept obedient is by the treatment of visitors. Mostly they are ignored. Visitors are a vital source of strength and reassurance for patients but this strength is undermined instead of encouraged by the exclusion of visitors from consultations and examinations or from any dealing at all with doctors and nurses. Not as vulnerable as patients, visitors are seen as a potential threat to medical authority pains are taken to frustrate any alliance between visitors and patients. (But dope, sex, liquor smuggling is winked at.)

During my three weeks of painful recovery from the third and most critical operation, one after the other of my incisions proved to be infected and had to be re-opened. (After I left, one incision was found to have several stitch abscesses and I had to return for the fourth round).

Each time, along with the pain and frustration, I had to endure the ritual assurance that it was nobody's fault, just another of those things. You get to feel that it's almost the ultimate in insult and intimidation to be expected to accept everything that happens as virtually an act of God. What was happening to me psychologically and physically was no worse than what was happening to the other women in the ward, a great many of whom were Third World women and almost all of whom were on public welfare. However, the main pattern was neglect and sloppiness, only we "interesting cases" got the super-giant-overdose treatment.

One woman had a totally unnecessary operation because an X-ray that would have avoided it wasn't taken. Other women came in with small abscesses and left with huge holes. I saw one doctor pressure a woman (he had heard that she was a prostitute) to tell him dirty stories and rub his penis. I saw a doctor bungle taking blood from a Nicaraguan woman who spoke no English; screams and blood were all over; none of the staff seemed concerned.

One night I was awakened by a flashlight in my eyes; two uniformed gigs were shaking down the ward for a reportedly stolen wallet that they never did find. Patients, especially the sickest ones who most needed rest were rudely awakened for routine temperature taking and abused if they protested. If you cried out in pain, you risked being yelled at and called a baby by some of the nurses. All women got called girls, of course, even very old women.

Coming away from a place like General, I could better see how health can be a revolutionary issue and how important it is to Black and Brown communities. At first it was hard for me to understand why I didn't find more revolutionary consciousness among the poor people who have to rely on the General Hospital wards or go without any medical care at all.

As I think of it now, it seems to me that much of this is from the deep fear that permeates the entire system. Lower staff are both victims and carriers of fear. Staff below nurses are afraid of them and nurses below HNs fear the RNs. RNs are afraid of their own supervisors and all snap to when one shows up. Interns cringe to the residents, who become meek before the permanent authorities. They all act under incredible pressure and fear of making the wrong mistakes.

One of the doctors on my case once dared to change my medication with amazing bravado. "And if anyone doesn't like it, tell them I said so," is what he said. Sure enough, his act was rejected and rudely rebuked by the bigger man; the brave voice was silent. To me that silence meant delay in recovery: four or five more days of medical arrest in my hospital bed.

Once, when very freaked-out, I insisted on rapping with one of the interns whose style it was to dress my wounds and dash off at the speed of light. He agreed that the pressure and fears of his job were so great that he hadn't time (courage?) for being human. (He did improve some.) The whole machine is so overwhelming that it takes a super-together person not to adapt to this fascist type style. The nicest intern I met said he had wanted to be a doctor to help people but now

after seeing it, he doesn't know why he is here.

Nurses get treated like servants to make beds and carry out orders without questions. They get no credit for opinions about patients; if quoted it is in terms of what "they seem to feel." But they in turn hold to power over patients. Still, I could relate to more nurses than doctors. I got to know one nurse who truly did help me. She was, to be sure, somebody's private nurse, not City staff. She urged me to forget doctors and medicines and just make up my own mind to get well.

There were two women doctors at General, and less than a dozen women interns. The two who were doctors at General, and less than a dozen women interns. The two who were doctors seemed fearful and definitely did not want to talk about discrimination or oppression of women in their male-dominated medical world.

Beyond an occasional individual not totally integrated into the staff concept, and therefore still a bit human, there are the fellow ward patients, who are really the most important. Among them there is an instinctive, if low key, solidarity that is very generally, although not entirely, shared. More mobile patients consistently help the more bedridden ones. Most people show real concern for others in the ward.

Only after I left the hospital did the full impact of the experience hit me. As months passed, the mass began to go away. I realized that the only thing they did to me that was really necessary was the D&C to remove the IUD and with it the cause of the mess. Everything else was irrelevant to the problem I came in with. I was lucky to be young and strong enough to come through it all without irreparable damage. I still shudder when I think how close it was. And I now understand better what happens to people in hospitals.

Plunged, usually suddenly, into an overwhelming system of pressure, the resignation of a lot of people is as understandable as it is tragic. The hospital environment for women is so much like that of a prison that it is no wonder that its impact on people is much the same. The authoritarian nature of all aspects of existence there; the paternalism, racism, and sexism, but most of all guilt and fear that are constantly being instilled in patients make them very much real prisoners to the same system as sisters and brothers behind bars.

In hospitals as in prisons, people are reduced to the categories of 'patients' and 'in mates' and treated as things less than human. To the exact degree that we insist on our identity as sisters and fellow humans, to that extent we find ourselves fighting the same arbitrary power system as prisoners are up against.

The struggle of prisoners throughout the U.S. should be a particular inspiration to people incarcerated in medical institutions. We can learn from them. So that—

When the hospital doors are opened real dragons will fly out.

LC

Part 2

WILMINGTON

DELAWARE

On May 6, 1970, six houses were raided simultaneously by the pigs who claimed they found a brother in one of the homes who supposedly was a suspect for attempted murder on a pig. All kinds of charges were placed on the 7 brothers and sisters who were arrested in their homes. (Conspiracy, Accessory after the fact of murder, robbery, possession of stolen goods). The trial was kangaroo style due to the help of pigs and niggers. Some brothers are now serving 5 years for just one of the charges. Every person hasn't been to trial because some of the brothers and sisters are in exile.

Five "young" brothers were busted for supposedly robbery and attempted murder of a gas station attendant. The ransom ranged from \$30,000 to \$50,000. These brothers are now waiting trial at the Dover Correctional Institute (especially for younger *****).

An important target of pig harassment and brutality which must be discussed here is the case of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC), formed in the summer of 1966 after the death of a local gang leader. It was originally a loose coalition of "gang" youth supported by local church related agencies. During Wilmington's first rebel lions (July 28th and 29th, 1967), WYEAC "proved" its worth by spending 3 days and nights in the streets "cooling things off". But they were eventually to learn that even these tactics would not excuse them from falling prey to the pigs' fascism when things got hot.

On Labor Day weekend, another incident occurred which was crucial in the inflation of the white fear psychosis and the continuance of the guard's presence. Cherry Island marsh is a deserted area near the city borders. Local people go there occasionally to shoot rats on the dump piles. On August 30, six Black young men—all WYEAC members were arrested while shooting at Cherry Island. The six were wearing buttons, available from any psychedelic shop, saying "I am already drafted in the Black Liberation Army." Immediately their activities were depicted as "practicing guerrilla warfare tactics", and the belief spread that there really was a Black Liberation Army. (Ironically, although the buttons themselves were supposedly innocent gag, there indeed was and is a Black Liberation Army, whose main duty is to offer to Black men an alternative to the white, racist, amerikkkan armed service; a chance to join forces with "the new urban guerrillas" dedicated to the complete destruction of amerikkkan imperialism, and the building of a new society where Black people will be truly free). Within the next few days, raiders made on the homes of the six and on WYEAC offices. The raids netted 2,000 rounds of shotgun shells, 350 rounds of .22 calibre cartridges and 18" machete, a shotgun, and a starter pistol, hardly the weaponry of a Liberation Army. The pistol was the only weapon found in the WYEAC offices; everything else was found in the homes of the six. Still, bail was set at \$48,000 on ten charges of illegal possession of firearms, discharging of firearms, and possessions of marijuana.

THE FBI CASE

In the winter of '68 eleven young Black men were charged with assaulting 2 white FBI agents. They were all charged with: 1) Aiding and abetting the escape of a supposedly army deserter. 2) Assault with a deadly weapon (A Shoe!) 3) Conspiracy 4) Assault and battery on a FBI agent with intent to kill.

Every time something happened WYEAC always got raided first. All but one of the brothers was employed by WYEAC; some of the brothers were

involved in the Cherry Island frame-up. Three houses were also raided. Their bail ranged from \$10,000 to \$38,000. One brother was acquitted before the trial began, two more acquitted after the trial. Now 8 were left. Four brothers were able to make bail and were out during the trial. They were all found guilty on all 4 counts. Of course there was no justice jumping off in the racist courts of Wilmington, as there's no justice in any courts in amerikkka. The brothers were "guilty" even before the trial started. During the trial the brothers were brought into court chained together. The whole main downtown district was blocked off with agents everywhere, with their rifles and shotguns. You had to have passes in order to get in the courtroom, and everyone was searched and sent through a metal detector. This was the biggest thing that ever happened to Wilmington and the pigs were really playing it up good, by setting an example of the brothers to scare the people and set them back. There was no community support in fact, it was the people in the community that turned state witness for a mere \$20 a day!

The brothers had been very active in community organizing. They exposed the real enemies and were teaching the people how to deal with their situation. The trial was kangaroo style with court-appointed lawyers except for two. Visiting was limited so as to limit the amount of preparation for the case as much as possible. The pigs in the prison would provoke the brothers to defend themselves, then charge them with rioting, assault and battery. (While being held in the so-called correctional center there were many incidents concerning the 8 brothers and others. One was when a riot broke out with a brother from Dover, Delaware and pig prison officials. There was fighting among the inmates and pig prison officials, as usual, the brothers were charged with assault and battery, although the guards had attacked them with an icepick. Charges were also charged against the guards; of course they were later dismissed. The brothers were found guilty). The press would relate all of the brothers previous frame-ups, to try and get the people to see them as hardened criminals, who should be in concentration camps. This happens each time a brother gets busted.

Now 8 of the brothers (The Wilmington Eight) are serving terms of 8-15 year indefinite sentences, all in various federal camps: Lewisburg, Pa., Petersburg, Va., Leavenworth, Kan., and Milan, Mich. When their appeal came up, all but 4 brothers had their charges dismissed because of "lack of evidence." The other 4 are still waiting to appeal their case.

So while the pigs are busy trying to stifle political activity in Wilmington through random arrest of those involved in the community, they are also busy flooding the community with hard drugs (heroin), so that the people will be in no shape to resist the terroristic tactics being launched against them by a gestapo, pig force. We were told that although prison rebellions have been occurring regularly since 1968, the brothers have no community support because at 2/3 of the "community" are involved in both using and pushing drugs. The old tactic of "divide and conquer" has been quite successful here where junkies also fight each other over who is going to control what ever drugs are available in the street, instead of turning attention towards fighting the ones who are responsible for bringing and maintaining the flow of death rendering drugs in the community. For the few brothers who were able to stay on the streets and carry on the struggle in Delaware, their lives are always on the line. Everyday means either a new rumble with more pushers who are against you trying to "ruin a good thing" (profits from heroin), or confrontation with the pigs, who are out to get

any and all Blacks resisting their attempts to completely control Black people.

And jail is another trip. Many brothers are in jail with charges pending from 1968. Those who were politically active while on the streets are put in the "maximum" cells, others are sent to medium, pre-trial, or minimum, depending on their political activity. The main struggle by politically active brothers is taking place in the maximum cells, and they are in desperate need of any and all kind of support, both in and outside of Delaware.

In April, 1970, a new, completely soundproof prison was built. This was done so that now when the pig guards beat on inmates, no one will hear them screaming. When brothers are finally released, they are told that they must get a job immediately upon being released. But, like every where else throughout Babylon's falling economy, THERE ARE NO JOBS! And in order to apply for the few existing federally funded jobs, you must be interviewed by the same pigs that helped to put you in jail in the first place! Without saying, you are turned down. When the brothers are unable to find employment, the pigs say that they are in cahoots with others to move on the pigs—so they bust them again. Meanwhile the parole board is busy keeping records of all this so that they see to it that you never make parole.

But the problems do not end here. It must be mentioned that Wilmington is controlled, virtually owned, by the notorious DuPont family. DuPont, along with Dow Chemicals, are responsible for being the largest manufacturers of napalm in amerikkka; napalm which is used to burn, maim and kill Asians and Africans fighting for self-determination in their own countries. The DuPont family represents the largest private concentration of wealth in the country, with a fortune upwards of 7.5 billion dollars. Both of Wilmington's newspapers and its main radio station are owned by the DuPonts, and the city skyline is dominated by the DuPont Building, the Nemours Building, the Delaware Trust Company, the Farmer's Bank Building, and the Wilmington Trust Company, all either owned or operated (controlled) by the DuPonts. Two of the four city high schools were built by private DuPont money and named for members of the family. Of the 250,000 people living in New Castle County, 30,000 are employed directly by the DuPont Company.

So with ultra right wing fascists such as the DuPonts in control in Delaware, we should be able to understand that Blacks will have to move towards setting up their own solutions for community control of the schools that their children go to, their hospitals, supermarkets, etc. if they hope to ever better everyday living conditions. For large corporations, whose survival and growth depend on the exploitation and slavery of poor, working people, will never solve the problems of amerikkka's Black communities. Rather, they are the reason that the wealth is in the hands of so few! DuPont's answer to the problems of Blacks is the installation of national guardsmen to make sure that the rioting on the part of frustrated Black people can be squashed quickly and effectively before too much damage of DuPont owned property costs them too much money!

Wilmington may represent only the first example of what the "law and order" advocates have in mind for all of us. For the problems of Wilmington, there are no outsiders! We must truly Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!!!

Written collectively by: Sheryl McQuillan and 2 sisters in exile from Wilmington

GUERRILLA NOTES...

Crowd Control Agents

"THE THING TO REMEMBER IS THAT ALL THESE GASES AND CHEMICALS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED FOR USE AGAINST AMERICANS. THE MILITARY ISN'T USING MACE IN VIETNAM, BUT MACE IS BEING USED IN WATTS AND HARLEM. MILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE BEING SPENT EVERY YEAR TO FIND NEW WAYS TO CONTROL THE PEOPLE WHO SUPPOSEDLY CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT."

Used Against the People

The problem with gas (offensively) is that it is so easy to defend against, and chances are very great that the people you intend to use it against are prepared for it. At this point in the struggle, any urban or rural guerrilla should have a gas mask. Everyone should understand the simple procedures for the treatment of a gas victim. Everyone should be able to identify the type of gas being used against them, so as to determine the type of treatment, and the seriousness of the situation.

There are five different types of gases used by the pigs at this point, and the effective forms of defense vary. A defense for one may cause more severe effects when used against another. Such is the case of vaseline. Vaseline works well against mace, since mace is a liquid, but it causes gases to adhere to the skin and thus results in more serious burns.

Pigs have been using canisters that do not explode on contact with the ground, but rather when picked up after the initial impact. This causes the gas to explode directly in the individual's face. Whereas a rubber mask is good protection against most types of gases, it is ineffective and even dangerous if worn when nausea gas has been used. Wet paper towels and surgical masks can be used to ease breathing problems but are also ineffective against nausea gas. Do the most important consideration before treating a gas or chemical victim is to determine the type of gas or chemical used.

CS tear gas. This gas is dispensed in various sized canisters, plastic grenades, and fog machines, and can be sprayed over an entire area from a helicopter. When you are hit with this type of gas, you will suffer coughing, running nose and eyes, burning of the eyes, a reddening of the exposed area, nausea, and in some cases dizziness. To relieve the burning and running eyes, wash them out with one part boric acid and three parts water. If boric acid is not available, use normal tap water. Standard eye drops can be used effectively. The next step in the treatment of CS gas is to get the actual gas off your skin. This can be accomplished by applying mineral oil to the exposed portions of your skin. If mineral oil is unavailable, use water, but directly after you have applied the water, wipe the entire exposed area, except eyes, with alcohol. This will relieve the sting by substituting a cooling sensation. If the alcohol is not applied, the stinging and burning may last up to two hours, whereas the alcohol will cut the time down to a matter of minutes. A gas mask, or wet cloth or paper towel, can effectively be used against this form of gas.

CN gas: This is basically the same as CS gas, but a much milder form. It comes in the same type of container and has the same type of effect, but it is not quite as unpleasant. The treatment is just washing the exposed portions with water. In most cases, the mineral oil and alcohol will not be necessary.

Nausea gas: This is an extremely dangerous gas, as it is colorless and odorless. It does not affect the tear ducts, so chances are great that a person will not even know it has been used until it is too late. It comes in the same type of containers as the CS and CN gas do. The effect this gas has is pretty bad. I've never been hit by the stuff myself, but I have spoken to some friends from the army, who have. They told me that nausea gas is the worst there is. A person exposed to it vomits instantly on inhalation, but it is not a normal form of vomiting. It is a result of a muscle contraction and is referred to as projective vomiting. Projective vomiting is the ejection of the contents of the stomach over several feet. This can result in the ripping of the stomach and throat lining. As well as vomiting, the person experiences instant diarrhea. These are also pretty disgusting symptoms, but on top of these the individual also loses the normal balance of his mind. They may find it extremely difficult to perform normal functions, such as walking or running. If a person has respiratory difficulties, they should be taken to a doctor immediately. There isn't much you can do about nausea gas yourself, except wait for the symptoms to go away. If the symptoms do not disappear or become more pronounced, get to a doctor. There is no protection against this type of gas. Gas masks, if worn, should be taken off as soon as you realize that it is nausea gas, as you might choke on your own vomit. The only effective protection is just running like hell, and getting out of the area. Because there is no effective form of protection against nausea gas, its use is somewhat limited; since not even the president can order the wind around.

Blister gas: This is even more strange and frightening than nausea gas but, it is a great deal rarer. It is pretty foul. It causes blisters on the exposed portions of skin. They may come up in minutes after the initial exposure or they can take up to several days to appear. This type of gas does not affect the eyes or throat, so it may be difficult to know whether the gas is being used. The only protection against it is to cover up all portions of the skin. This may include gloves, hats, bandages, long pants, etc. (girls should never wear skirts to

demonstrations). The treatment for blisters is applying mineral oil and keeping the blistered area from the air. Try to get a medic or doctor immediately. Anyone blistered should keep off the streets, as the pigs or military will be able to identify anyone with blisters.

Mace: Mace is a liquid rather than a gas, and is used more on a person-to-person basis than in crowd control. It is made up of 10 percent CS gas, 70 percent a propellant agent (sodium bicarbonate), and 20 percent kerosene. The kerosene is the agent ingredient that causes the severe burning sensations. If you have been hit with mace, you know exactly what I am talking about. It feels as if you're thrown into a blast furnace, while your eyeballs are extracted from their sockets and submerged in a concentrated solution of sulfuric acid. The pain that mace causes is intense, and this in turn causes the breakdown of normal physical and mental functions, such as running. If you are sprayed in the mouth, it may lead to uncontrolled convulsions. The treatment for a mace victim is as follows: Wash out their eyes with the same boric acid solution described in the section on CS gas, wash all exposed portions of their body with water, then apply rubbing alcohol to dilute the kerosene and relieve the burning. The combination of ski goggles and a thin layer of vaseline covering the face has proven to work well. The vaseline must be wiped off immediately after exposure.

The thing to remember is that all these gases and chemicals have been developed for use against Americans. The military isn't using mace in Vietnam, but mace is being used in Watts and Harlem. Millions of dollars are being spent every year to find new ways to control the people who supposedly control the government.



MALCOLM X:



"He rose from hoodlum, thief, dope peddler, pimp, to become the most dynamic leader of the revolution". These are the first words you see when you read the autobiography of Malcolm X. Who was this man and what does his spirit mean to us today?

YOUTH I

Malcolm was born Malcolm Little. His father was a Baptist minister who followed the teachings of Marcus Garvey. When Malcolm was 6 his father, Earl Little, was murdered by white racists. From then on, hunger and need were his middle name.

The "all helping state welfare" that many of us know so well, began to be so "concerned" for this family of Littles that they proceeded to tear them apart. Why? Because black people are not understood by white people. They always seem to feel there is something wrong with us.

Malcolm was sent to live with another family and his mother was sent to the State hospital. He couldn't be "controlled" in school so they sent him to reform school. He was treated as well as a "nigger" could be. They talked about him as you would a parrot that wouldn't do anything except what was told him. They talked about his people calling them niggers as if he wasn't a part of them.

Early in life, he found white people whom although were not hostile towards black people outwardly, felt that they know our place and intend to keep us in it. When all the children were making their choice as to their vocation, Malcolm expressed his desire to be a lawyer. His favorite teacher replied, "Malcolm, one of life's first needs is to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me now. We all here like you, you know that, but you have to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer - that's no realistic goal for a nigger. You should think about something you can be. You're good with your hands, making things. Everybody admires your carpentry shopwork. Why don't you plan on carpentry? People like you as a person. You'd get all kinds of work.

AS A CHILD

As Malcolm began to grow, he realized that he did not wish to be around the whites at his school nor those at his parttime job after school. Malcolm grew enough to know that he didn't belong where he was. His writing and visiting his half sister Ella proved to be beneficial. She arranged to have official custody of him to be transferred from Michigan to Massachusetts. This began a new phase of Malcolm's life - in Boston.

Boston showed young Malcolm a new side of black life. Here he saw the "uppity" blacks who imitated whites, and were ashamed of their "less fortunate" brothers and sisters; those who couldn't or didn't care to keep up the "I can walk like, eat like and talk like the white people" image. It was these down home brothers and sisters who he felt at home with. These brothers and sisters who didn't put on "airs". He stayed close to the brothers and sisters off the block and got to learn the language of the masses. He was eager to learn any and everything. As his weight made him look ten years older than he was (then about 14) his quick mind made it easy for him to learn things the brothers off the block would teach him; things they would never teach a teenage hick - which was what he was.

He decided that he wanted to travel to New York. He was broke out and Malcolm had the chance. He fell in love with the bright lights of the Savoy, and the conservative banterisms of the hustlers in Shells Paradise. He admired the hustlers and he soon joined their ranks. He began selling joints (smoke). He was sixteen years old.

Malcolm used his sharp mind to avoid snags with the law. He also smoked as much as he sold. During this time, Malcolm came very close to death - from many directions. At one time he was sought after by the mafia, other hustlers, and the pigs. His crime partner called up one of "Detroit red's" out of town friends who took him back to Boston. He was addicted to cocaine.

The Man & His Vision!

A Tribute

Once settled in Boston, Malcolm started and headed a burglary ring. He picked two white women, and two brothers he knew. The fact that he had two white women in his ring got him a 10 year sentence, which they were finally caught. The pigs were more interested in the fact that he might be sleeping with one of them, than the crime. His crime was burglary, but he was sentenced for sleeping with a white woman. He knew this.

PRISON

Prison was the beginning of another stage of Malcolm's life. There he believed in nothing and no one. He was twenty years old.

He was taught by a fellow inmate that the only difference between the brothers inside of jail and those outside was that they had gotten caught. It was in prison that he learned that people can be respected for their minds and not just brute strength. He became interested in books. He took a course in English and one in Latin.

In 1946, Malcolm's brother Philbert wrote him and told him about the nation of Islam. Malcolm refused to listen to anything relating to religion. His other brother Reginald, knew him better and knew how to get to him. Reginald told Malcolm that if he stopped eating pork and smoking cigarettes, he could get out of jail. Malcolm said yes, thinking that it was a way to trick the pigs - a way out.

Then he was moved to Norfolk Massachusetts prison colony. Here he was free to roam through the library and to begin reading about history and religion.

When Reginald finally visited Malcolm, Malcolm was totally unprepared to hear what he had to say. He began to think of his past and his present situation. These thoughts made it possible to accept the teachings of the honorable Elijah Muhammad. This was the beginning of another phase of his life.

Malcolm was released from prison in the spring of 1952. He began attending Temple No. 1. Again he saw a new type of black man. These brothers and sisters were reserved, polite to each other and to him. The men respected their women and the children respected adults and each other. Malcolm believed what he had learned and became totally involved. He was received by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who told him of the nation's need for more ministers. Malcolm became a minister in the Nation of Islam. He and Sister Betty X also found each other in the Nation.

EL HAJJ MALIK SHABAZZ - MALCOLM X

All the time Malcolm was in the Mosque, he never stopped growing. The teachings and discipline he learned there made him want to investigate further. He left the Nation of Islam and went to Mecca. When he returned, a new Malcolm emerged. This Malcolm had made a journey to Mecca to check out Islam and found it to be a religion of diverse nationalities. He found that there were white Muslims. If this was the case how can all white people be the devil? There must be another reason for the oppression of black people. Malcolm became more political and he used everything he had ever learned to project the political side of the black man's problem. He began to look at the black man's plight as an international one. One that is shared by 2/3 two-thirds of the world. Malcolm analyzed the way America oppresses the world - through violence. He saw the way black people in America were controlled by violence. He saw that in order to deal with the oppressor on an equal level, you must learn the language of this man and sometimes speak it.

"A logical extension of Malcolm's basic concept of the black Revolution is revolutionary socialism. He believed that eventually the oppressed peoples of the world must come to grips with the cause of their exploitation. The only way out for the "haves and have-nots" cycle is through a radical break by the latter with the colonial economic relationship".

MALCOLM X - ON REVOLUTION!

"Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. Now was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed. The French Revolution - what was it based on? The landless against the landlords. What was it for? Land. Now did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you - you don't know what a revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way. ...You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed, I said, you're afraid to bleed.

The Negro revolution is...the only revolution...where the goal is to sit down next to white folks - on the toilet. That's no Revolution!

Malcolm X was assassinated, but he left behind his teachings. Today he lives in the underground and in the hearts of the revolutionaries. As the words of Malcolm X pierced the enemy and rang true to his people; so will the bullets of the underground pierce the bodies of the enemy and bring freedom and liberation to all our people. MALCOLM LIVES!

Anatomy of Roy Innis

"Anatomy of Roy Innis" reprinted from the February 1972 issue of 12 Novembre, Publie Par L'Organisation Revolutionnaire du 12 Novembre (ORI2N) a Haitian Underground Newspaper

Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), recently put the finishing touch on the job he set out to do eight years ago, when he joined CORE.

What was then a growing organization which sought to change the second class status of blacks in the U.S. through direct action has become, under the direction of Innis, a handful of opportunists seeking to make a handsome profit through exploitation of their own blackness, Innis' latest forces of Forest Hills, Queens, in their efforts to kill plans for a low-income housing project there, his support of Zionist forces and, finally, his unconscionable support of the dictatorial regime in Haiti and promotion for investment there.

These actions are consistent with the pattern followed by Innis over the years. In 1963, prior to his membership in CORE, Innis denounced the organization as white-led, and vowed to not join it until it had majority of black members and leadership. A short time later, during a period of factionalism and directional strife, Innis took the opportunity to not only join the New York (Harlem) branch of CORE, but to take a position of "chief manipulator" in one of the factions.

He made and broke alliances with the organization on a day to day basis on no other principle than gaining his own political headway. At a time when hundreds in CORE in the north, and other civil rights organizations throughout the country, were putting their bodies on the firing line and in jail, Innis did nothing but politics. Active CORE members of that period do not recollect Innis ever being on a picket line or getting arrested in a demonstration.

In 1964, one of the major activities of the civil rights movement in New York was around the struggle for adequate education for blacks and

Puerto Ricans. Two massive one-day boycotts were mobilized, and a huge march from City Hall, in Manhattan, to the Board of Education, in Brooklyn, took place in the spring under joint leadership of blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Innis was not a participant in any of these demonstrations nor any part of the organization for them, nor did his participation improve any the following year, when CORE endorsed the extended boycott of city, junior high schools.

Another of the 1964 campaigns upon which CORE spent much of its time was voter registration, both North and South. Innis not only did not contribute anything toward this project, but attacked a member of the New York branch of CORE who had been engaged in a voter registration field project out of the city as ineligible to vote in chapter elections because of her absence.

Within two years from the time he joined CORE, Innis succeeded in reducing the membership of the New York chapter from 600 members to less than 60. Much of the activity in Manhattan, by that time, was being handled by the CORE Regional Administration Office, under the direction of Herb Calender.

Calender recommended to Floyd McKissick, when he became national director, succeeding James Farmer in 1965, that the New York chapter be put into receivership for inactivity. Although Innis was not the chairman, he and his supporters disrupted meetings of the group to the extent that those who were interested in activity either quit out of frustration, or were sucked into the political factionalism in opposition to him.

By the end of 1965, all of the founding members of the New York chapter were gone, as well as those that had joined CORE in its chief period of activity, from 1960 to 1965. This helped pave the way for the success of the "black capitalist" philosophy, which now is the only purpose of CORE's existence. Calender's recommendations about New York CORE were not only disregarded, but the chapter became a pawn in the

national CORE factional struggles, to the dismay of the remaining members. In the process, Innis was promoted.

Ironically, Innis' initial supporters in his bid for election to the chair were the whites in the chapter. This is not surprising, when one looks historically at the alliances made in the past between certain "black nationalist" elements and whites. It is also no coincidence that Innis has embraced a distorted policy of neo-Garveyism for CORE.

For Innis, the enemy is not the bankers, the realtors, or the corporate heads who run the country, it is the white worker. Roy Innis allies himself with Gerald Birsch, leader of the Forest Hills, movement against a project specifically because he does not want blacks and Puerto Ricans in the community.

At a time when black liberation groups throughout the country are denouncing the monopoly capitalist system as the cause of the super exploitation of blacks, and racism as one of its manifestations, Roy Innis chooses to promote a program of black capitalism. A glance at the list of sponsors of the \$100-a-plate dinner held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel during the CORE 1971 Convention in New York City easily explains which side Innis is on: American Can Company, Bank of America, Chrysler Corporation, Coca-Cola Corporation, First National City Bank, Reader's Digest, Gulf Corporation, Oldsmobile, Illinois Central of Indiana, Union Carbide Corporation, National Distillers, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, Genega Foods, American Broadcasting Company, etc. (ad nauseum).

There is no longer a membership to CORE, and most of its "chapters" are merely promotional groups for business enterprise. Non profit status of the organization enables it to get foundation—grants to further its shameful purpose at no cost.

In 1967, CORE, with Innis as national director, was the first group in the country to receive a Mark Research Grant through the Ford Foundation. While many community groups were reluctant to accept such grants in fear of compromising principles, Innis gratefully took it at a nice profit to himself. He is also the co-owner of a newspaper, the Manhattan Tribune, which does little more than publicize trivia about the West Side of Manhattan. Innis' source of funds has always been a mystery to the Harlem community, although one often hears guesses that are probably not too far off the mark.

He is now seeking non governmental status for CORE in the United Nations. There are many observers who see that development in close connection with his recent trip to Haiti, and his tribute to the government of Baby Doc upon his return. Innis' personal political ambitions are also viewed with great suspicion. He is a native of the Virgin Islands and has, on at least one occasion, expressed a desire to return there as governor.

The last description of Innis' goals probably best characterizes him in relation to the black liberation movement. As the administrator of a colony under the domination of the United States, the governor's allies are the natural enemies of the people. These are the same allies Roy Innis wishes to make, and actually already has.

Louisville

On Jerby Day, in Louisville, Kentucky, four members of the Louisville Chapter of the Black Panther Party were arrested. The pretext for the arrest was that they had ripped off 60 dope pushers for 45,000 dollars in cash and 9,000 dollars in jewelry.

The people who were arrested on Saturday, May 6th, were John Herbert Jones, Gary "Geronimo" Gaynor, George T. Alexander and Benjamin Simmons. They were all charged with 9 counts of armed robbery.

On Monday morning, May 8th, they all went to court to be arraigned. Bail was set at 7,500 dollars each. Benjamin Simmons had been released on Saturday, but when he returned to court on Monday his bail was increased and he was thrown back into jail. A police hearing was set for June 15th prior to a Grand jury indictment.

On Tuesday evening we received word that two more brothers and a sister had been busted, bringing the grand total of people to be busted to seven. It was at this time that it became obvious to us exactly what has been going on.

When we first received word on the bust it was supposed to have been because of the pushers being ripped off. It has become obvious through more investigation that there was never any dope pushers ripped off at all. It is our studied contention that there was no robbery at all. It is our belief that this whole conglomeration of lies as concocted by the Louisville Police Department in conjunction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation was thought of as a means to eliminate the Black Panther Party in Louisville.

We believe that the Louisville Police Department made a deal with the local pushers to implicate the Black Panther Party in an armed robbery as the first step in a new campaign that has been floating through the Justice Department for several months to eliminate the Black Panther Party once and for all.

J. Edgar Hoover said at one time that the Black Panther Party was the greatest threat to internal security present in A-



INTERNATIONAL



NEWS



In December 1971, over 20,000 Namibian workers downed tools and went on strike, bringing the mines and other industries to a standstill and paralysing the country. Two months later, most of them were still out on strike, and the action had escalated to armed insurrection in parts of Ovamboland to the north. It was the the most extensive strike in Namibia's stormy history, a mighty blow which shook the Vorster regime's illegal administration, and a historic defeat for apartheid unparalleled since the great mass campaigns of the ANC in South Africa in the fifties and early sixties.

SECHABA pays tribute to the courage and militance of the Namibian workers and people. Their resourceful and determined action has demonstrated once again their unquenchable desire to be free of the loathsome racist rule of Pretoria and its cruel economic exploitation. Their united resistance to the police terror unleashed from Pretoria has inspired the oppressed millions throughout Southern Africa, and engraved a new and treasured page in the history of the freedom struggle.

The story of the strike is told below in three parts. Part I deals with the background to the strike, Part II with the actual events of December, January and February, and Part III with the lessons of this important struggle.

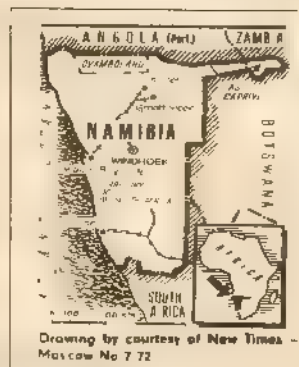
PART I

The South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA) was formed in 1943 to task — until it was absorbed in January of this year — was to channel African workers from Ovambo and the Kaokoveld Kavango and other parts of SWA to white farmers into government service, to the mines, fisheries and factories of the territory, and the remainder (usually 10-15 %) via its Watwatsrand counterpart (Windhoek) to the South African gold mines. From the outset SWANLA discharged its odious duties with maximum concern for the needs of the employers and minimum care for the workers. Being a monopoly, without rivals enjoying Government recognition and backing SWANLA imposed its own terms and conditions and sustained a human traffic in ultra-cheap, virtual slave labour which made South West Africa a paradise for foreign capitalists and a living hell for the black worker. Not that forced migratory labour, starvation wages and the disruption of family life began with SWANLA's formation in 1943. It goes back to the early 1920's. Then the unusually flat plains of Ovamboland were able to support the people there so being flooded annually from the highlands of southern Angola. Crop cultivation was practised more widely than anywhere else in this dry drought-prone land. It was partly the relative independence of the Ovambo people arising from their mode of subsistence, and promoted by the geographic isolation of their territory, that gave rise to the colonisers' favourite myth now shattered for ever — that the

reprint from Sechaba

THE GREAT NAMIBIA STRIKE

Ovambos were willing and happy subjects of the Pretoria government's administration. Harsh measures including taxation of grazing lands and tributes were adopted to push the men off the land and into the service of British South African and later (since Sharpeville) American mining capital. Conditions were worse on the white-owned farms, where workers suffered lowest wage rates, arbitrary treatment, humiliation and assault without even the compensation of that sense of solidarity and mutual strength — plus the possibilities of organisation — which are afforded by industrial wage labour. Not surprisingly the recent strike has received least support from the workers on the white-owned farms. Not only do they often have the use of a bit of land and such as no mineworker has away from home, but they are also exposed to punitive action from their employers. The mentality of white farmers can be gauged from the speech of one of their delegates to a Congress in Windhoek towards the end of last year. He announced proudly that he withheld his employees' wages until their contract expired, to ensure that they stayed till the end of the contract. He recommended his system to other farmers. When white farmers advocate breach of contract they are applauded when African workers do the same in defence of their right to a living wage they are prosecuted under the 19th Century type Masters and Servants laws.



Starvation Wages—Super Exploitation

Wage rates were and are appallingly low. Writing nearly ten years ago, Ruth First calculated that "One year's work by a miner or industrial worker at the highest SWANLA rate paid will earn £30. The man earning the minimum daily rate gets 35 pence a month. (1) Today, the minimum for a person (i.e. youth) is £2.25 — which taking into account the rising cost of living and declining value of money is lower as a real wage than the supposed minimum of 1962. One employer giving evidence for the state in the trial of the alleged ring leaders of the strike, admitted to paying his

workers a miserly £3 per month. Even the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner a Mr. G. White, who is as glib as any of the employers and more glib than most officials, admitted in a press interview. "The Government concedes that the labour contract system and its pay scales are not satisfactory and there is no doubt that the Ovambos have justified grounds for complaint." (2) The contract system also kept men apart from their wives and children for a year or more at a time. Living under lock and key, exhausted by the daily drudge of intense hard work and obliged when not at work to comply with the pass laws, 'border control requirements, and the rest of the apparatus of police state regimentation, the Namibian workers have been no better off than ordinary convicts — in fact, worse, because there's was a life sentence.

The Struggle for Independence

Thus in their conditions of labour and life there was cause enough and to spare for the militant strike action of the Ovambo and other workers. But their action had also an even more important political aspect which many reports have failed to bring out. The Namibian people have never accepted the rule of foreigners be they German (until 1915) or white South Africans (since 1915). By 1966 they had come to realise that freedom and independence would never come from outside, that only by their own efforts would they throw off their shackles, that their path forward — other channels being blocked — lay through armed struggle. The refusal that year of the 'imperialist-dominated' World Court at the Hague to take a decision on the legality of the Republic's annexation of SWA underlined the correctness of the liberation movement's strategic line, and added urgency to the first, difficult undertakings of the guerrilla cadres of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in the latter half of 1966.

The First 'Terrorism Act' Trial

The racist enemy struck back in the fascist way for which it is notorious. Mass arrests, brutal tortures and murders by the South African Special Branch, protracted interrogations and detentions in solitary confinement, culminating in the trial in Pretoria (starting June 1967) of 37 Namibian patriots, all SWAPO activists. Despite their previous sufferings at the hands of the police, they stood trial with dignity and complete confidence in the justice of their cause, defiantly rejecting the racist court's claim to jurisdiction over them. Said that fine leader, Teivo Herman Ja Toivo: "I am a loyal Namibian and I could not betray my people to their enemies. I admit that I decided to assist those who had taken up arms. I know that the struggle will be long and bitter. I also know that my people will wage that struggle, whatever the cost. Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop. Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals of the Whites, will there be peace between us." (3) When the Vorster regime sent the SWAPO militants away to the bleakness of Robben Island for life imprisonment, it thought it was silencing them forever. It could not have been more wrong.

'Bantustans' Come to Namibia

Using the Odendaal Commission's report as a basis, Vorster pushed ahead with the imposition of apartheid in Namibia and tightened his administrative hold in defiance of a UN Security Council resolution which conferred the right of administration pending independence on the UN itself. Ovamboland — as the largest, most self-sufficient of the scattered Reserves of Namibia — was to be the showpiece of 'separate development' another Transkei. In 1968 an appointed Ovamboland Legislative Council was created, without even the charade of staged elections which Vorster had enacted in the Transkei, and a clutch of tribal puppets was installed, headed by the hated Chief Shimi. (He died in a car 'accident' in November 1971.) But the apartheidisation of Namibia only stimulated the people to further resistance and in the northern region, especially the Caprivi Strip and Okavango, as well as Ovamboland and the Kaokoveld, guerrilla activities intensified.

The World Court Condemns South Africa

Against this background of mounting poverty, galloping apartheid and the growing effectiveness of SWAPO's guerrilla activities the June 1971 decision of the World Court, belatedly establishing in international law the illegality of the Republic's rule in Namibia, came as a sharp catalyst of further struggle. Predictably, Vorster rejected the Court's ruling that South Africa should withdraw from the territory. The subsequent train of events has been described as follows:

'Some of the Government-appointed chiefs, particularly Lshona Shimi, Chief Minister of Ovambo, welcomed the S. African reaction to the court's decision. Most Africans, however, supported the Court. The first sign of the depth of the unrest came when a number of employees of the Ovambo administration, including civil servants and teachers, issued a public statement denouncing Shimi's statement. They were later dismissed. Subsequently a new secondary school was opened at Ongwediva amid a blaze of publicity. There was a demonstration of over 1,000 teachers, parents and students against South Africa's presence, and the school was immediately closed. It did not reopen (the following term). Students at the Augustineum secondary school near Windhoek also demonstrated, and a large number were dismissed. That too was closed.

In July, the leaders of the two African churches, Bishop Auala and Pastor Gawaseb issued pastoral letters which were read in all churches, declaring their support for the International Court. They also sent open letters to Vorster, and held to their stand when summoned to meet him. Colin Winter, the white Anglican Bishop of Damara land, supported them.

Later, the Council of the Rehoboths, who have had a long history of an originally granted autonomy being whittled away by the Germans and South Africans, declared they would appeal to the UN, while Chief Kapuua of the Hereros also added his voice to those calling for a South African withdrawal' (4).

The Workers Rise

To stop the mounting swell of protest heavily armed police rounded up nearly 800 Africans in the prison-like barracks and bare streets of the Katutura location at Windhoek. They were alleged to be there 'legally'. Inspired by guerrilla successes to the north-east, by the widespread agitation in schools and colleges, by the moral weight added to the movement by the churches and their leaders the workers began stoppages spontaneously in Walvis Bay and Windhoek. But these early efforts, uncoordinated and unorganised, were inevitably short-lived. The need for organisation was recognised and met.

The stage was set for mass nationwide industrial action against the white system. All that was needed was for somebody to raise the curtain.

PART 2

Obviously there stepped forward at this moment Mr. Jannet de Wet who received in the title of the Commissioner General of the Indigenous People of SWA. Replying to a Lutheran church condemnation of the contract labour system as 'slavery', the hapless De Wet, naïvely believing his own government's lying propaganda, denied that contract labour was slavery. How could it be, when the Ovambos accepted it voluntarily and did not hesitate to sign contracts?

This open invitation to withdraw from the contract labour system was instantly taken up by the workers in Walvis Bay. After discussion they wrote dozens of personal letters to friends and contacts in the Windhoek location and elsewhere urging joint

out, and undisclosed numbers of African police were sacked for sympathising with the strikers. Within a few days, production was stopped at the Klein Aub and Oamites copper mines, the Berg Aukas lead and vanadium mines, the Lis tin mines and the gigantic, US-dominated copper-lead-zinc complex at Tsumeb. The strikers demanded to be taken back to their families in Ovamboland, and the authorities — thinking they would be able to find enough scab labour to carry on with, while using the 'tribe elders' to put pressure on the strikers, in the relative isolation of the far north promptly complied. It was a strategic blunder, which overlooked the deep rooted political and national grievance

in the strike. The organisation has always had strong support from the Ovambo people, amongst whom it began in 1959. Though not actually illegal like the ANC, it is outlawed in cabinet name, its known members constantly under surveillance and its underground cadres unknown. The strike committee formulated a set of demands, circulated leaflets and called for talks with the government. Workers on the railways, on the tin and lithium mines and from the fishing fleet at Walvis Bay joined the strike. The government's reply was to offer an additional police and announce bilateral talks first with the employers and then with the tribal authorities. The latter, appointed and unrepresentative yet were forced to acknowledge the strength of the popular movement by supporting the demand for the abolition of contract labour. The workers' demands were more far-reaching. They want:

- freedom to choose their jobs
- the right to have their families with them
- the rate for the job (irrespective of colour, and equal treatment for all)
- employment bureaux to be established in all towns and regions
- mutual respect of employers and employees
- wages sufficient for workers to pay for their own food and transport
- an end to pass-books, identity cards instead
- removal of the barricade (the police post at the boundary of Ovamboland)

To these workers' demands the Ovambo people added further demands at meetings in different parts of their territory. They called for:

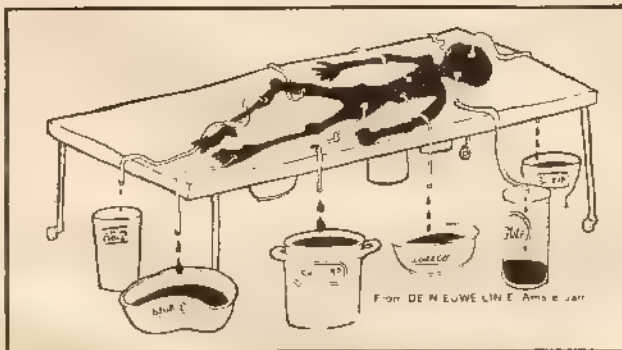
- the expulsion of all whites from the territory
- an end to stock inspection
- removal of the border fence between Ovambo and Windhoek (5)

On 21st January the Government announced the abolition of SWANLA and its replacement by a labour recruiting system to be run by tribal headmen. It was the old contract system in a new Bantustan-type form. The overwhelming majority of the strikers rejected it out of hand. Their original memorandum had warned that they would not accept the old system in a new guise.

The Crisis Deepens

To quell the mounting dissatisfaction and growing militance of the people the police began to operate daily helicopter patrols, especially on the Angola border where the fence was cut in over twenty different places. The fence was erected a few years ago as part of the Vorster regime's attempt to stamp out guerrilla activities in northern Namibia. It is deeply resented by the Ovambo people who live both on the Namibian and Angolan sides of the border.

Knowing that it had done nothing to remove the causes of discontent, and having failed to drive the workers back to work by police intimidation, the Government began to prepare a vicious assault on the people. White women and children were evacuated from the town of Oshikanga in Northern Ovamboland, while the Portuguese colonialists moved in large forces of troops on 'their' side of the border, shooting and beating indiscriminately. Public meetings other than those called by chiefs had already been banned — utterly ineffectively. At the end of January, to supplement the 150 additional Railway Police brought from South Africa at the start of the strike and the Pretoria police reinforcements flown in at the end of December, units of the South African Army were sent to Ovamboland and a total news blackout imposed within a few days, dozens of Africans had been shot and unknown numbers wounded and arrested.



action against the contract labour system. This method of communication ensured that the message got past the police, and got round widely and quickly. Despite intimidation from the authorities the Windhoek workers met early in December 1971 and decided to strike on the 13th. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner tried to talk them out of it, and when he failed, the police moved in firing off their guns, beating up men in the streets and smashing windows and doors. The workers were not cowed. They elected representatives who explained the workers' case to Government-appointed 'tribe elders' who were brought down from Ovambo and for discussions. The strikers' silence in the face of their arguments was evidence that they knew the strikers' cause to be just and reasonable. When one of them half heartedly urged the strike leaders to call it off, they refused, because, they said, "The people have said so and not us. It is the people who govern and not us." (This quotation comes from the diary of one of the strike leaders who was later charged with 12 others). (5)

Spread Like Wild Fire

In Katutura township, Windhoek after similar meetings, the strike was on. By the 13th December 6,000 men were

aces of not just the Ovambo workers but all Namibian workers, and their unity of purpose. Repatriation in fact both guaranteed that most of the mines stayed closed and shifted the focus of struggle to the countryside. At the end of December, as though to proclaim the failure of the Government's effort to confine the struggle to the north, hundreds of workers downed tools at the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund, right down at the south western tip of the country. The year closed with the contract labour system in ruins, the Ovambo workers solidly united and concentrated in their home province, and leaders of the Herero and other peoples urging their workers not to backslide. Thirteen alleged ring leaders were in jail, over 11,000 Ovambos had been repatriated, and at least 20,000 workers were on strike.

Strike Committee Elected

Early in January 1972 the strikers in Ovamboland elected a committee at 25, chaired by Johannes Nangutuula, who had been one of those administrator on employees sacked in July and who was known to be connected with SWAPO. (It is still too early to examine how far SWAPO has been invol-



Compound at Katutura

Armed Revolt

The clamp-down on news has made it difficult for the outside world to discover the extent of the armed resistance which the people now had to resort to in the face of Army repression and brutality. But on the 25th January the Namibian newspaper 'Die Vaderland' gave the game away with a pearly headline screaming 'OVAMBOS REVOLTI'. The story that followed claimed that several thousand men, armed with pangas, spears and bows and arrows, were marching on the administrative capital of Ovambo and clearly something of this sort did occur, although the true picture has still to be revealed. More over other armed clashes have occurred but even fewer reliable data of these are available at the time of writing.

Trying to penetrate the veil of silence the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland (Carm Winter, mentioned earlier) visited his mission at Odraba and interceded with the Ondangua magistrate on behalf of relatives of the SWAPO militants imprisoned on Robben Island who were being refused permission to visit their mentors. The Bishop was promptly expelled from Ovamboland and the remaining Finnish and other missionaries in the area (who for years provided the only education available there and who are known to be sympathetic to the people's cause) are also in danger of eviction in addition to the battles of the Ovambo strikers with the racist army and police, there have been some small clashes between the strikers and would-be scabs. The latter were duly inflated out of all proportion by the capitalist Press in South Africa as part of its contribution to the government's effort to demoralise the men and defeat the strike. But by the end of the first week in February, with the strike almost two months old, an official statement revealed that only 171 men had returned to work - less than 10% of the total number on strike. The unity and solidarity of the strikers and their steadfast determination in the face of everything the apartheid regime has thrown at them, has been one of the most striking features of this tremendous struggle.

'Normal' Capitalism Comes to Namibia

The Pretoria government can take little comfort even from the small numbers who have returned to work. Press reports from Windhoek and Wais Bay reveal that these men's expectations of a new labour system and better conditions have been sadly disappointed, and much discontent is evidenced by stoppages and desertions.



Commercial, domestic and farming employers are showing signs of panic at the possibility that - for the first time in Namibia's history - they are going to have to pay wages that will attract workers and to compete with each other as buyers in a labour market.

Meanwhile, on 14th February the trial resumed in Windhoek of the 13 men detained two months previously as alleged ringleaders. They are charged with intimidation, incitement, and breach of contract (4 charges in all). The International Commission of Jurists has sent black American judge William Booth as an observer and he quickly announced his horror at the food and living conditions of the workers in the Kulutura barracks. By the time these lines are read, the trial and the strike itself may be over, but whatever the outcome of the present crisis, the heroic struggle of the Namibian people commands the active support and appreciation of all progressive opinion and its latest outstanding achievements deserve analysis.

PART 3

When the history of the liberation struggle in Namibia comes to be written, it may well be that the great strike of 1971-72 will occupy the same key position as the 1905 Revolution in Russia holds in the history of the first Socialist Revolution. It may come to be seen as the general rehearsal for that ultimate uprising which will sweep away the remnants of colonialism and racism and set the Namibian people irreversibly on the path to a better future. Certainly, however, the things can never be the same again. The most active force for change in the situation, the Namibian people and especially the Namibian workers have experienced to the full and for the first time on such an extensive scale the latent power which as in themselves their power not as individuals but as a mass movement, united behind clear and just aims.

When a people discover that they are powerful though disarmed by the State, disorganised and handicapped by every link in the chain of exploitation and oppression, then the days of the oppressors are numbered. Never again can the superior force and resources of the enemy appear on an insurmountable obstacle. The weapons of the oppressed - unity, solidarity and organisation - have been tested in battle and the people have learned for themselves what no political organisation can teach them en masse, that their future lies in their own hands. Vorster passop (Vorster Watch Out!)

Democracy in Action

In 1905, to continue this historical parallel, the workers formed for the first time the institution which was to become the instrument of their class power after October 1917 - the Soviets. It was an unplanned development, an improvisation of the popular masses in the course of making history. In the Namibian strike the element of real grass-roots democracy has similarly been an unforeseen but crucial factor. The major decisions were made after intensive discussion involving all those affected or their immediate delegates. Hence the firmness of those decisions when put to the test of action and government reaction. When, near the end of January, the chairman of the strike committee ill-advisedly welcomed the new form of migratory labour and urged strikers to go back

developed rapidly into a general political strike and thence into armed insurrection. A decade ago a similar economic conflict could not have spread so quickly or turned into a major political confrontation. This is one of the respects in which armed struggle is proving to be the decisive form of struggle, not only in Namibia but throughout Southern Africa. Armed struggle correctly adopted raises other forms of struggle towards itself and sharpens their impact. The significance of this will not be lost on the South African people.

It would be easy and foolish - for outside sympathisers to feel superior about the cultural backwardness of the Ovambo strikers reflected in their open religiosity - the prayers at the start of their meetings, their frequent references to God as the leader of their cause, the still pervasive influence of Church and mission in their lives. Again, the example of other revolutions remind us that it is not the religious forms of Men's ideas but their objective understanding of the real situation and their role in it which determines the revolutionary character of their struggle. Were not the Russian peasants superstitious, devout and overwhelmed by the prestige of the Tsar? Yet they fought for the Revolution and proved in action to be the main ally of the proletariat.

There can be no doubt that not only will the people of Namibia emerge stronger than ever from this epic pe-

riod but also their national liberation movement SWAPO will command wider respect and deeper loyalty. 'If SWAPO claimed to have organised the strike' wrote an English journalist in *The Guardian* (12.1.1972) after a recent visit to Namibia 'it would have been suppressed immediately. But there is no doubt in my mind that SWAPO has a great deal to do with it. At the Ovambos' met in Namibia talked about SWAPO as 'the major element in resistance to white supremacy'.

One final parallel with 1905. Then, and now, the willingness of the masses to fight and sacrifice for the revolution proved to be far ahead of the capacity of the organised vanguard to lead and co-ordinate their struggle. The heroic men who took to arms in Northern Ovamboland are not to be blamed for their desperate action. On the contrary, they deserve our respect and applause, for they have blazed a trail which others will take in far greater numbers better prepared and more skilled in the art of insurrection, and their blood has watered the growing flower of the victorious people's revolutionary struggle! Today's spears and arrows will be tomorrow's guns and bullets, today's spontaneous outbursts tomorrow's planned uprising, today's setbacks tomorrow's triumphs.



African residential area in Windhoek

A FRAGMENTATION Grenade -



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uchell
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eronimo

using the local radio station to reach a wider audience than he had ever had, the people largely ignored him, not only because his judgement was so clearly wrong as to the merits of the proposed tribal recruiting scheme but also because in their eyes he had no mandate to accept it.

The Decisive Role of Armed Struggle

A third lesson of the strike is its vivid proof of the way in which when a higher form of struggle is correctly introduced into a people's movement, it radically deepens the scope and character of other lower forms of struggle. SWAPO launched armed struggle in 1966. No territory was liberated, no major military victories were won in the ensuing five years. Yet it had been a correct tactic, and its correctness was borne out by the deep political overtones which the worker's strike took on from the outset, and by the way in which an industrial strike

What's New in Haiti?

Nothing's new in Haiti these days, it's been the same old song since the Old Slavenmaker Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier's been gone and the young slavenmaker, Jean Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier has taken over. The song of malnutrition, Prostitution, retardation, leprosy, illiteracy, beggary, misery, are the stark realities of Haiti. After 16 years of Papa Doc Duvalier's regime the annual per capita income is less than \$75.00; the minimum salary is \$1.00 per day, less than 13 cents per hour; the national budget is \$30 million for a population of over 5 million people. The army and "Leopard Men" (4 Generals, 10,000 men) average only \$60.00 per month salary per man, \$15 million annually and only \$10 million remains for public works, education, health, civil administration, etc. Corruption and bribery are a way of life for the working class, and prostitution is the most prosperous industry in Haiti. Two-thirds of the budget is used to maintain the petit bourgeois ruling clique in power. As recent as March, the so-called "new" regime has bought some very high priced home furnishing and brand new, expensive cars, one Ferrari, \$20,000, two bullet-proof, 1972 Oldsmobiles, a \$17,000 Jaguar and a Rolls Royce for \$28,700. All for the big show and accommodation of two visiting Caribbean Dictators, President Joaquin Balaguer of the Dominican Republic and President Anastasio Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua, both in the same month.

Somoza's father was responsible for the treacherous assassination, February 21st 1934 of the great worker peasant, Augusto Cesar Sandino, who organized hundreds of peasants in the Segovian Mountains of Nicaragua for guerrilla warfare against the oligarchists regime of the Somoza Family and the expansionist Yankee imperialists. On May 4, 1927, Sandino and an army of peasants with arms in hand, and boldness and valor in their hearts fought against, and succeeded in expelling the invading yankee troops from Nicaraguan soil. It's not my intention to go into the history of the terror and repression by the Somoza Dynasty which bloodied and impoverished the beautiful country of Nicaragua for 38 years, but to show the common legacy of brutality and repression that Anastasio and Jean Claude share.

As Papa Doc Duvalier did in Haiti, Joaquin Balaguer, the present tyrant of Santo Domingo wields hands of savagery against all real or potential opponents. The Balaguer Regime was "elected" under the supervision of U.S. troops sent in to crush the revolution in April 1965. This same regime sent a team of assassins all the way to Brussels, May 23rd 1971 to murder Maximiliano (El Negro) Gomez, General Secretary of the MPD (Movimiento Popular Dominicano) Dominican People's Movement. Gomez had been released from prison in Santo Domingo, March 1970 along with a number of other prisoners of war in exchange for U.S. Colonel Donald Crowley an "Adviser" who had been kidnapped by



The Minister Luckner Cambronne respond to a question of Ray Joseph of the Haiti Observer. Standing behind him is the interpreter, M. Tarjette.

Urban Guerrillas. Thousands of Freedom fighters are confined for long periods of time in the La Victoria Prison and held there on "suspicion", without a hearing. Over half have been tortured and beaten regularly by prison guards. Balaguer, enemy of the people, sanctioned on April 24, 1971, the savage beatings of over 500 prisoners by professional torturers in a special torture chamber called "the fun house" to "celebrate" the anniversary of the 1965 revolution.

When will the torturers of the people learn that torture and death have no communion over real strugglers resolved to win and die for true independence and freedom?

An obscure former bank teller named Luckner Cambronne is a very powerful black Man; he is Minister of Defense and Interior, and is reputed to be the real power behind the dynasty. Cambronne has ripped off millions from the "National Renovation" Program, which mind you, was supposed to provide housing for the wretched of Haiti. Several months ago, Cambronne confiscated land belonging to the people and turned it over to American businessmen. He has been known to do this from time to time in the past. In Haiti, U.S. citizens, especially Whites enjoy all the liberties that are denied the Haitian masses. Some White Texans have been given the Haitian owned Isle of La Tortue (about 50,000 square miles) to be "developed" for sun and fun seeking Americans in a 99 year lease (outright robbery). According to the "development" plan, the inhabitants of La Tortue will be cordoned off in reservations similar to those of the indigenous inhabitants of North America. Dr. Wendell Phillips another White American has just received an oil concession amounting to about 33,500 square miles for On-shore and Off-shore exploration and production. Minister of Defense and Interior

Luckner Cambronne has interests in a fleet of taxicabs, imports clothing, a travel agency, a dried fish co. and a sisal plantation.

He reaps thousands of dollars from the many prostitution rings in Haiti and also venture in the drug traffic -- which is a cinch since he owns Air Haiti Airline. The Civil Aeronautics board had recently approved his request to fly his private plane (cost \$6 million) the New York - Port-au-Prince route. Air Haiti, incidentally, is used to fly the plasma and corpses of impoverished Haitians to the U.S. medical schools and research centers.

An American owned company named Hemo Caribbean, owned by Joseph B. Gorinstein (Stock Broker) has a 10 year contract with the Haitian Govt which was negotiated with Papa Doc who died in April 1971. Gorinstein is the business partner of Cambronne, who deals in the trafficking, and has an interest in Hemo Caribbean, of blood plasma collected from the ragged and undernourished Haitians for \$3.00 per liter. The protein rich plasma is frozen to kill those unwanted bacteria before being shipped to the U.S. where it's used to restore the health of Mr. Gorinstein's well-fed American clients.

Cambronne and Haitian delegation arrived in Washington, D.C. on the 13th of March on a five day courtesy mission. Among the delegation members were the Foreign Minister, Arrien Raymond, and Finance Minister, Eupard Francisque. Hosting the delegation was Haitian Ambassador to Washington, D.C., Rene Chalmers. The body guards were Colonels Jean Thomas and Cecilio Jorje, the Military Attache in Washington, D.C. The Ministers visited and had rap sessions with all those important in the field of financial and foreign matters. They saw Secretary of State, William Rogers, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Charles Meyer, Secre

(Continued On Page 21)

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MARTIN

SOSTRE

Martin Sostre is a black revolutionary from Buffalo, New York. He is 48. He has spent almost 5 consecutive years in New York jails as a prisoner in Amerikka's genocidal war against black people. Almost all of this time has been spent in solitary confinement because to the ruling class Martin Sostre is a very dangerous man—a brilliant revolutionary leader.

Sostre, an ex-prisoner and once a Muslim, became a follower of Malcolm X when Malcolm split from Elijah Muhammad. Saving money from his job as a steel worker, he set up the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Buffalo. When the black rebellion of 1967 swept through Buffalo, the fire department tried to destroy the bookstore; then Martin and his assistant, Gerolaine Robinson were arrested when pigs claimed to have found heroin in the store. One of those who allegedly "found" the heroin, Sgt. Gristmacher from the Buffalo Narcotics Squad has since been suspended for taking coke from the police vault and refusing to divulge what he did with it. Additional original charges of rioting, and inciting to riot, which would have clearly exposed the trial as a political frame-up, were quickly dropped. His bail of \$12,500 was not raised by his defenders, and he spent 8 months awaiting trial in the Erie County Jail.

Martin Sostre was indicted by an all-white grand jury, and in 1968, convicted by an all-white jury in a trial in which he defended himself. Like Bobby Seale after him, Martin was bound and gagged by the trial judge. He was convicted and sentenced to 31 to 41 years. Geraldine was given 1 year with 15 more years suspended.

At every jail he has been in, Sostre has been a leader of prisoners and a target of concentration camp authorities, yet he has continually ex-



panced his vanguard work. He was first sent to Greenhaven prison where the pigs kept him 372 days in solitary confinement in a 6 by 8 foot cell, often with inadequate heating. From solitary confinement in Greenhaven, Sostre filed a suit in Federal Court, charging cruel and unusual punishment. At the hearing he was sworn in with his right hand raised in a clenched fist. Not only that: he won his suit! Judge Constance Baker Motley, the only federal Black woman judge in the country awarded him \$13,000 in damages. More importantly, the precedent-setting decision ordered that no prisoner in New York State could be put in solitary confinement without a hearing at which he or she has a right to counsel that no stay in solitary could exceed 15 days; and that prisoners had the right to have political literature and engage in political activity.

Martin by this time had been transferred to Walkill prison, where prisoners who associate with him are threatened with a transfer to a maximum security prison. In spite of this he has helped form the Prisoners Liberation Front, which circulated a petition, signed by 200 prisoners, not only for particular reforms but to force officials to deal with a continuing body of prisoners to represent prisoners' rights and interests. Not only this, he edited from jail a news

paper called Black News, which reported on the Black and Puerto Rican struggle. When the Young Lords took over the First Spanish Methodist Church in New York City in January of 1970, Sostre sent them \$15, his food package for the month.

As to the appeal of his original frame-up conviction, Martin has fired his lawyers in a public letter printed in the International (anti-revisionist) Black Panther paper in New York, Right On!, Feb. 23, 1972. On April 8, 1971, the main witness for the state, a man named Arto Williams submitted an affidavit to Judge Motley admitting that he had framed Martin. Martin's lawyers have apparently been dragging their feet, he was represented legally by the firm of Rabinowitz, Gouldin and Standard. Martin says that they first filed the wrong type of motion and had to petition for permission to have it treated as a writ of error coram nobis. A decision requiring a hearing on the issues was rendered on June 25, 1971; Martin's attorney was required only to "Submit Order" for a judge to sign for the hearing to be scheduled. This took the firm over two months; the order was signed Sept. 9, 1971. Martin wanted a hearing in the Fall, so that his many supporters in Buffalo could mount a massive demonstration. Instead a hearing was scheduled for January 18, 1972 — when it is bitterly cold in Buffalo because of the winds off Lake Erie. Meanwhile the danger of something happening to Arto Williams to make him retract his affidavit are multiplied by the passage of time.

Martin's motion for retrial was denied about Apr. 1, 1972, is a hearing held under the tightest security arrangements in the history of Buffalo. Although he was denied a retrial, a

(Continued on Page 21)

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MARTIN SOSTRE (Cont)

visible support movement has sprung up at the University of Buffalo and among the black community there. The courtroom was filled during the hearing, and those unable to get in stood in the corridors chanting "Free Martin Sostre."

Sostre and the Prisoners Liberation Front also accuse Youth Against War and Fascism, of "left anti-revolutionary opportunism." According to Sostre, YAWF, which is associated with the Workers World Party and which formed Sostre's defense committee.

1) failed to raise his \$12,500 bail, though they raised thousands for bail for white students at the University of Buffalo and also are benefitting financially from a booklet about him.

2) told Sostre that his writings to the Black Community were "too" revolutionary and refused to publish Black News when Sostre refused their suggestions for changes. Workers World newspaper has not printed anything about Sostre for 6 months, nor did any reply to his charges appear in their issue of March 16, 1972, their first since Sostre's article in Right On!

George Jackson's death should have taught us a lesson we must never again forget: that we in the revolutionary struggle cannot afford to relax our efforts to protect and free imprisoned revolutionary leaders. It is not a question of benevolent solidarity: the fact is we need revolutionaries like Martin Sostre back in the community. All exploited and oppressed people are the real losers so long as he remains in jail.

FREE MARTIN SOSTRE!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

Bill Callison

What's New in Haiti (Cont)

tary General, Galo Plaza, Head of InterAmerican Committee of the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), Carlos Sanz de Santa Maria, Deputy Secretary for defense, Kenneth Kuhn, Assistant Secretary of defense, Warren Nutter, The World Bank Executives Technical Director, M. Lajons, Ortiz Mena, President of the InterAmerican Development Bank and a group from Reynolds Aluminum Company.

On the 13th of March, while the Haitian delegation were answering questions on the 13th floor of the Press building in Washington, a group of Haitians called the "Ad Hoc Committee for Justice in Haiti" demonstrated with placards in front of the building. Some of the slogans on the placards were right on to the point, "Monarchy in Haiti defies OAS Charter", "OAS Charter should be revised to suit Haiti's Monarchy", "Haitian Minister, a drug pusher, is received by the State Dept.", "Papa Doc's memory eulogized in D.C.", "No Free election in Haiti for 15 years", and "Hey America, Give a damn for Haiti."

When the delegation started to depart from the press building around 6 o'clock, they were met head on by the demonstrators whose rage were echoed in the shouts at Cambronne especially. They called him 'assassin', drug pusher, caviar salesman and many more. A male

demonstrator standing overhead then emptied a mouthful of spit in Mr. Cambronne face. As the spit flowed down the lapel of the Minister's conservative tailor-made gray coat, the spitter shouted from overhead, "I've been storing this spit for 20 minutes."

Another male demonstrator used the wooden part of a placard to land a blow upside the Minister's bare head. A female demonstrator also jumped upon the Minister in a rage as he tried to run for shelter in his Cadillac limousine. But of course the police intervened in time and they dragged her away as she pounded the car with her fist. It was an experience that the visibly shaken Ministers would never forget.

Who knows how the Haitian people will turn the tide when they come face with these evil Haitian Gods/Guards who serve the Nixon Administration in their dilapidation of the land. The Duvaliers and Cambrannes who under the guise of "Anti-Communism" are selling Haiti to the American (Yankee) exploiters. The Haitian masses will triumph in their just struggle as explained in a Haitian Kiyol (Creole) proverb: Gnonn Jou pou chase, gnonn jou pou Jibidi! (One day is the hunter's luck, another is the pheasant.)

Nixon, Sonoma, Balaguer, Baby Doc Duvalier...., Roy Innis (see article and photo page 21)

My intention is to let the people of Babylon and the World know of the complicity of all reactionaries, dictators and imperialists.

Habib Tiwoni
Caribbean Journalist



THIS IS THE hole which was made in the window of the building occupied by the Black Committee For Self-Defense, 1140 Dixie Highway, Louisville (Cont'd)

the system feels it can cool this out is by eliminating the so-called "radical left faction" of the Black Panther Party.

Therefore we feel that this is just the first step in the plans to kill the Black Panther Party and its revolutionary work within the Black communities.

WHY LOUISVILLE?

Because it's a new chapter, a young chapter, strategically located as far as the organizing of the South is concerned and the government feels because of its youth, they can be easily intimidated and turned around.

Prior to Louisville becoming a chapter of the Party it was known as the Black Committee for Self-Defense. Even then its focal point was organizing around the drug scene. The BCSD put out leaflets once a week (4,000) that was called the Black Community News Service. Its central thrust was against drugs. They had begun a massive campaign against drugs that incorporated the churches, schools, organizations, businesses, and the NAACP. They called it Blacks Against Drugs (BAD).

The Black Committee for Self-Defense became a Chapter of the Black Panther Party on April 4th officially. Since that time the pressure from the pushers and the pigs have mounted. We feel that this is just another effort to stop the progress of the people in their move to stop the genocide against the people.

The pigs in Louisville have gone so far as to raise the bails of the comrades to 7,500 percent. That is each of the comrades have a bail of 67,500 dollars. The sister's bail (Jacqueline Howard) is 25,000 dollars.

What the government does not understand is that one spark can start a prairie fire. The Party has lived. The Party has educated and as long as the Party continues to educate it will live. For every educated black person is a Panther.

All Power to the People!

Black Panther Party Platform and Program



1. WE DEMAND FREEDOM. WE DEMAND THE POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. WE DEMAND FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessman will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE DEMAND AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and a mule. Forty acres and a mule was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people, therefore we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE DEMAND DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. WE DEMAND EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE DEMAND EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. WE DEMAND THAT ALL BLACK MEN BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the military, by whatever means necessary.

7. WE DEMAND AND IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. WE DEMAND FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK PEOPLE HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. WE DEMAND THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE BE TRIED BY JURIES OF THEIR PEER GROUP IN A PEOPLE'S COURT.

We believe that the courts should be made up of peers. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical, and racial background. We have been, and are being tried by juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. WE DEMAND LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impels them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



In The Eyes of Louisville.

Black Panthers Intensify Lou. Action

Reprints from
the
Louisville Defen-
der

By Frank L. Stanley, Jr.
Executive Editor

It is alleged that the Black Panther Party has earmarked Louisville as city to be organized along the ideology of the national organization.

Recently five local members were arrested and indicted by the Jefferson County grand jury in connection with an armed robbery May 5, at Laird's Tourist Home, 1146 S. 15th. There was one additional person indicted also.

Local organization spokesmen denied the charge and said that it was a frameup and that all of her persons indicted have alibis.

Six Louisville men and one woman are each charged with nine counts of armed robbery. They are Larry M. Baines, 21, of the 600 block of S. 29th; George Thomas Alexander, 22, of the 2400 block of Garland; William D. Blakemore, 23, of the 900 block of S. 29th; Gary Ricky Gaynor, 19, of the 1100 block of Dixie Highway; John Herbert Jones, 21, of the 2100 block of Osage, and Benjamin F. Simmons, 21, of the 1900 block of S. 35th.

Local Panther Party officials say that Alexander, Simmons, Jones, Gaynor, and Blakemore are members of the organization.

Jacqueline Leigh Howard, 18, of the 2400 block of Grand, was indicted on a charge of aiding and abetting a robbery, in connection with the case.

Police said at the time of the robbery that a group of men entered Laird's, forced a large group of people to undress and robbed them. Approximately \$8,200 in cash and jewelry was taken, police said.

At the time of the arrest police did take into their possession revolutionary readings and a list of dope pushers marked for assassination.

The local Black Panther headquarters is at 1140 Dixie Highway. Party officials say they are having problems keeping their three year lease.

The Defender interviewed three members of the Black Panther Organization to get their reaction to the arrest. They are Carole Morris, member of the Information Cadre; Alex McLeiver, National organizer from the national office in New York; Laurice Harrell, Member of the Collective Leadership and a student at Jefferson Community College.

In addition to denying the arrest charges of armed robbery regarding Laird's Tourist Home, they also disassociated themselves from having anything to do with the recent black church bombings.

With regard to dope, they denied pushing it, but indicated they wanted to rid the Black community of it. "We are after the Dope Pusher who is really the problem rather than the entire Black Community which has many innocent users," was the way one official put it.



Black Panther Headquarters. Photo by Jay Thomas.

When asked about rumors that they were shaking people down for money, they said they were not. One spokesman said, "All we are doing is asking people for contributions like any other nonprofit organization but not with threats."

According to these officials, the local Black Panther Party is working on the drug problem; on starting a Liberation School; and on a hot line for anyone who has been arrested.

Blacks Take Lead In Viet Pullout

Black Americans have many domestic concerns which normally override any interest in our country's foreign policy. But President Nixon has clearly gone too far in his escalation of the war in Vietnam.

For the first time, blacks have taken the lead in demanding that the President stop wasting our substance in Indochina, that he stop risking all our lives in a futile effort to support the South Vietnamese regime, and that he stop acting as if the American people had nothing to say about what he does with the power vested in him.

The Congressional Black Caucus immediately labelled the President's latest escalation as one of the "most barbarous acts of war" in our history.

Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.) and several of his colleagues have moved to impeach the President for his flagrant abuses of his power as Com. They recognize that what he is doing is a complete subversion of the constitutional system which lodges the

power of declaring war in the Legislative Branch of our government.

Even more significant was the astonishment of the nation's capital when a spontaneous demonstration at the Capitol of hundreds of students from Washington's Eastern High School telegraphed the message that young Blacks are sick and tired of the way in which the foreign policy of this country is conducted.

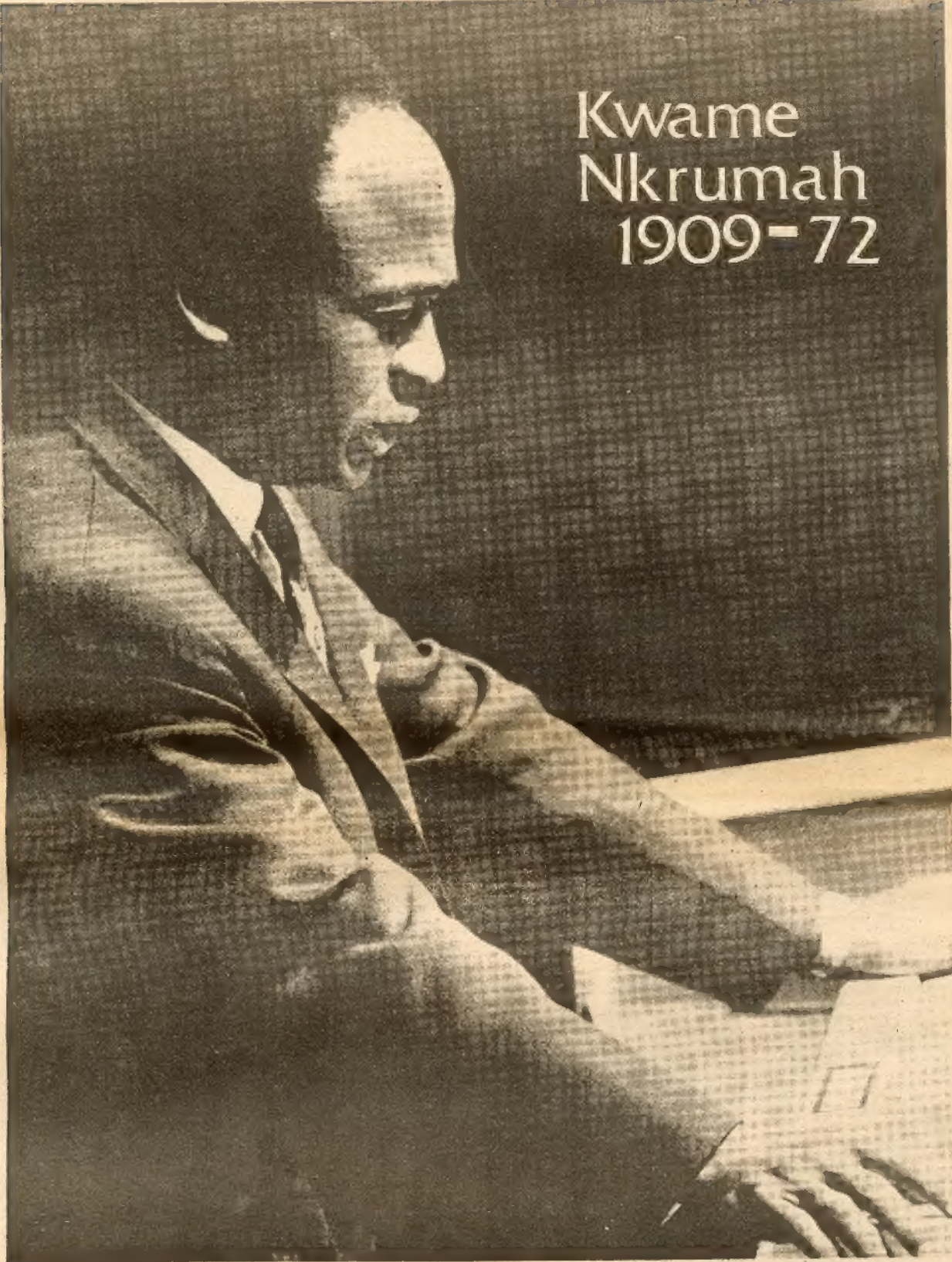
This was the first predominately black anti-war demonstration in the history of a city which has known man, anti-war efforts. But the young black students at Eastern High were not following a trend: They were acting on their concern, while many of their elders were in a state of shock.

Black Americans have not been the leaders in anti-war protests in the past, but they have been the leaders in pointing up the outrages of a society whose institutions have become a mockery of our democratic ideals.

Black Lawyer Stabbed 3 times for: Defending Wife!

Henry Sanders, who just recently finished Harvard Law School, was taking his wife Rose, also a recent law school graduate, to get some ice cream at the Dairy Queen on Hwy 80 in Selma, Alabama. Rose was standing in line when racist Roy K. Cosby of 1610 W. Dallas Dr. Selma, Ala. pushed her. He rained blows on the sister and knocked her down. Rose's husband Henry came to

her defense and was righteously putting a hurting on the racist when he drew a knife. Henry was stabbed 3 times, once in the side (a 6 by 3 inch gash), in the shoulder and in the hip. At the trial the judge said "Roy Cosby is one of my best friends" and fined him \$25 for assault on Rose + \$100 for attempt murder. Henry was fined \$10 for defending his wife. The only justice Black People can expect is Revolutionary Justice from the B.L.A.

A black and white photograph of Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister of Ghana. He is shown from the chest up, in profile, looking down at a desk. He is wearing a dark suit jacket over a light-colored shirt and a dark tie. His hands are resting on a desk with papers. The background is dark and textured.

Kwame Nkrumah 1909-72

" THE RIGHT OF A PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES IS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE, AND TO COMPROMISE ON THIS PRINCIPLE IS TO BETRAY IT.

IT IS FAR BETTER TO BE FREE TO GOVERN OR MISGOVERN YOURSELF THAN TO BE COVERED BY ANYBODY ELSE. "

"KWAME NKURUMAH"